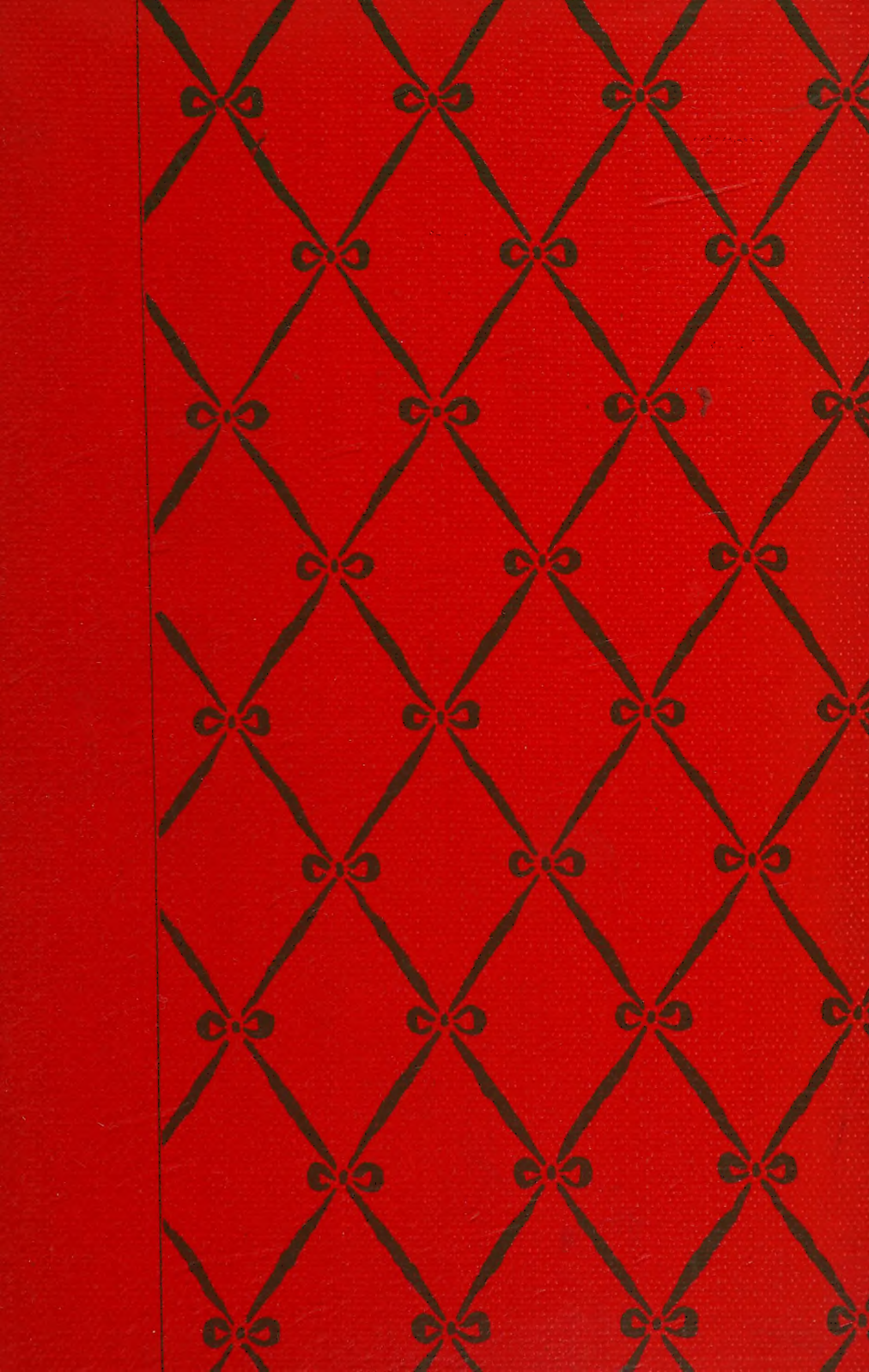


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_S0-CVV-356

REAR ADMIRAL JOHN ANCRUM WINSLOW

BROOKL... LIBRARY
196 MONTAGUE ST.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN ANCRUM WINSLOW

REAR-ADMIRAL, UNITED STATES NAVY

WHO COMMANDED THE

U. S. STEAMER "KEARSARGE"

IN HER ACTION WITH THE

CONFEDERATE CRUISER "ALABAMA"

BY

JOHN M. ELLICOTT

LIEUT., U. S. NAVY

BROOKLYN LIBRARY

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK AND LONDON

The Knickerbocker Press

1902

M 199016

BROOKLYN LIBRARY 1968 MONTAGUE

1.30.19

B
W779E

Copyright, 1901
by
JOHN M. ELLICOTT

3185.85

BROOKLYN
PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

PREFACE.

ADMIRAL WINSLOW was careful, throughout his life, to preserve and copy his official and public correspondence. His wife and children were equally painstaking in preserving his papers and private letters, and in collecting everything concerning him that appeared in the public prints. I was requested to undertake his biography about five years ago, and all the collected material was unreservedly placed at my disposal. Much of the labor of chronological assortment had already been done by Mrs. Winslow and Miss Mary C. Winslow, the Admiral's wife and surviving daughter. Besides this original material, many published works have been consulted, of which a list is given in this volume, and I desire to express my thanks to their authors for much valuable information.

After many interruptions, due to arduous professional duty, I am at last able to give the biography to the public, hoping that I have made it as interesting and instructive to others as the original material has been to me.

JOHN M. ELLICOTT,
Lieutenant, U. S. Navy.

NAVAL WAR COLLEGE,
NEWPORT, R. I., *Jan. 1, 1901.*

E5103

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Antecedents and Childhood	1
II.	From his Marriage to the Burning of the *Missouri*	6
III.	The Burning of the *Missouri*	15
IV.	Beginning of the War with Mexico	24
V.	Blockading Mexican Ports	33
VI.	Winslow's First Command	40
VII.	Executive of the *Saratoga*	48
VIII.	On the Frigate *St. Lawrence*	57
IX.	Duty with the Western Flotilla	69
X.	Return to Duty on the Mississippi	80
XI.	Detachment from Western Flotilla	90
XII.	Assignment to Command the *Kearsarge*	97
XIII.	Cruising around the Azores	104
XIV.	Blockading the *Florida*	117
XV.	The Queenstown Incident	124
XVI.	The Escape of the *Georgia* and *Florida*	138
XVII.	The Blockade of the *Rappahannock*	153
XVIII.	The *Alabama* at Cherbourg	174
XIX.	The Destruction of the *Alabama*	188
XX.	The Conduct of the *Deerhound*	219

CHAPTER PAGE

XXI.—The Sojourn of the Victor at Cherbourg 233

XXII.—The Close of the Cruise 250

XXIII.—The Ovation at Home 259

XXIV.—Duties as Commodore 264

XXV.—The Last Cruise 270

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Rear Admiral John Ancrum Winslow. *Frontispiece*	
Theatre of Operations of Western Flotilla . .	70
The *Kearsarge* of 1864	98
Kearsarge's Theatre of Operations . . .	118
C. S. S. *Alabama*	174
Diagram of *Kearsarge–Alabama* Combat . .	198
U. S. S. *Kearsarge*	210

WORKS CONSULTED

History of the Mexican War. General C. M. Wilcox.

The Home Squadron in the Mexican War. P. S. P. Conner.

Service Afloat and Ashore in the Mexican War. Raphael Semmes.

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion. U. S. Naval War Records Office.

The Navy in the Civil War; The Gulf and Inland Waters. Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N.

The Navy in the Civil War; The Blockade and the Cruisers. Jas. R. Soley.

History of the Navy during the Rebellion. Charles B. Boynton.

The Confederate States Navy. J. Thos. Scharf.

The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government. Jefferson Davis.

A History of Our Own Times. Justin McCarthy.

France and the Confederate Navy. John Bigelow.

The Secret Service of the Confederate States. James D. Bullock.

Service Afloat, "Sumter" and "Alabama." Raphael Semmes.

Two Years on the "Alabama." Arthur Sinclair.

An Englishman's View of the Battle between the "Alabama" and the "Kearsarge." F. M. Edge.

Life of Admiral Foote. J. M. Hopper.

Life of Charles Henry Davis. C. H. Davis.

The Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War. Montague Bernard.

Claims of the United States against Great Britain. U. S. Government.

Acte Final de la Conférence Internationale de la Paix; La Haye, 1899.

The Laws and Usages of War at Sea. Captain C. H. Stockton, U.S.N.

Expédition du Mexique. G. Niox.

The Fall of Maximilian's Empire. SEATON SCHROEDER.

The Congressional Record, 1864 and 1865.

The Army and Navy Journal, 1862–66.

The Spectator, London.

The Times, London, and other leading American, British, and French newspapers.

The Century Magazine.

THE LIFE OF JOHN ANCRUM WINSLOW

LIFE OF REAR ADMIRAL

JOHN ANCRUM WINSLOW.

CHAPTER I.

ANTECEDENTS AND CHILDHOOD.

IT is the privilege of the biographer to unfold to his readers, page by page, the life of an individual who has accomplished great deeds in the world's history, and it is the biographer's duty to show, as best he can, how heredity, environment, education and training, as brought to bear upon the individual by an all-wise Providence, make of him an instrument for the accomplishment of far-seen purposes.

Heredity had not a little to do in shaping the career of John Ancrum Winslow. The Winslows, coming from Droitwitch, England, arrived in the Plymouth Colony with the first settlers, and two of the family became governors of the colony. It was from John Winslow, a brother of Edward, the Governor, and Mary Chilton, the first woman to land from the *Mayflower*, that the subject of this

biography was descended. From Puritan stock came his inheritance of integrity, perseverance and fortitude.

On his mother's side, Winslow was descended from Colonel William Rhett, son of Sir Walter Rhett, a baronet in the time of Charles II. William Rhett married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Amy, Esq., of London, one of the lord proprietors of the Colony of Carolina under the charter confirmed by King Charles in 1663–65. In 1704, the French and Spaniards, with a frigate and four armed sloops, under the command of Le Feboure, sailed against Charleston from Havana. Rhett was placed in command of an improvised naval force, consisting of six small vessels, and given a commission as vice-admiral. With this force he defeated the invading expedition—killing, wounding and capturing three hundred men. In 1718, the colony was subjected to depredations by the Buccaneers under Steed Bonnet, or "Blackbeard." Two sloops were fitted out by Governor Johnson and placed under the command of Rhett, who followed Bonnet into the waters of Cape Fear, and, after a severe engagement, in which the pirate was badly wounded, captured him with his vessel and crew. Rhett was afterwards appointed Governor-general of the Bahamas, but never accepted the position. From this hero of Carolina, Winslow inherited the ambition to become a naval warrior and the qualities necessary for success in such a calling.

John Winslow, of Plymouth, moved to Boston,

and it was there that Edward Winslow, a descendant of John and father of the subject of this biography, was born, in 1788. In 1807, Edward went to Wilmington, N. C., to establish a commercial partnership with another branch of the family, and, in 1809, he there married Sara E. Berry, a widow, of Scotch descent, her father being John Ancrum, chairman of the Committee of Safety of Wilmington during the Revolutionary War. At fourteen, she had married a Mr. McAllister, who was killed a year later while they were travelling. By him she had one child, born after the father's death. At eighteen, she married a Mr. Berry, and by him had five children. She was twenty-nine years of age when she married Edward Winslow, a youth of twenty-six. They had four children, of whom John Ancrum was the second.

John Ancrum Winslow was born in Wilmington, N. C., November 19, 1811,[1] combining in his inheritance, as we have seen, the simplicity, perseverance, integrity and fortitude of the Plymouth Rock pilgrims with the courage, chivalry and dash of the gentry of Carolina. Even in his boyhood we can see the outcropping of first one and then another of these characteristics. Being the favorite son, he was allowed very much his own way, and his inherited maritime tendency led him frequently to the docks and shipping. Upon one occasion, as he was standing with his elder brother, Edward, near a British ship, her sailors pitted the cabin boy against him, and young John received, without

[1] He was baptized in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

warning, a blow upon his head. He turned and made such a spirited defence that in a few minutes the cabin boy was severely whipped. It was such a plucky fight and such a complete victory that the British tars, after a rousing cheer, lifted the little victor upon their shoulders and bore him on board their ship for congratulation and refreshment. The incident was a prophetic forerunner of another duel he was to fight against an adversary equipped and egged on by British enterprise!

Upon another occasion, when but ten years of age, he induced his brother Edward to accompany him upon an impromptu voyage. They cast themselves adrift in a ship's boat, erected a bush for a sail, and, favored by the wind and tide, were swept rapidly to sea. Before anxiety overtook them they both fell asleep, but were luckily met by an incoming ship when many miles from land, and brought back in safety to their distressed parents.

Being fearless and venturesome, young Winslow soon learned to use firearms, and was given dogs and a gun. He loved his dogs devotedly, and spent many hours of the day roaming with them through the woods, thus cultivating that love of nature's beauty which grew so strong within him, and which draws a man in thought nearer to the omnipotent Creator.

Edward Winslow, the father, being a Bostonian, was desirous that his sons should be educated in the North, so young Edward and John were sent first to Dorchester and afterward to Dedham, Massachusetts. At the latter town they were placed

under the charge of a Rev. Mr. Sewall, to be prepared for college. John was then fourteen years of age. He proved apt and progressive in his studies, but, when ready for college, his desire for a naval career had ripened, and he was aided by his indulgent parents to enter the profession of his choice. Through the influence of Daniel Webster, whose home was upon the Winslow estate at Marshfield, and who held the family in high esteem, an appointment as midshipman was obtained for John, and after a course of study he received his commission February 1, 1827, and was attached to the U. S. S. *Falmouth.* This ship cruised in the West Indies for three years, during which young Winslow was frequently sent in boat expeditions against pirates, thus treading, at the very outset of his career, in the footprints of that ancestor from whom he had inherited the desire which led him into the naval service.

In 1830, Winslow returned home, but in the next year he was again ordered to the *Falmouth*, and sailed in her to the Pacific around Cape Horn, gaining experience in deep-sea cruising early in life. He remained in that ocean without special incident until 1833, when he returned home, passed a creditable examination, and was promoted to Passed Midshipman. After a few months at the Boston Navy Yard, he was ordered to the Brazilian Squadron, where he served until 1837 on the ships *Erie* and *Ontario.*

CHAPTER II.

FROM HIS MARRIAGE TO THE BURNING OF THE *MISSOURI*.

IT was probably during the few months spent in Boston, in 1833, between his Pacific and first Brazilian cruise, that love ripened between young Winslow and his cousin, Catherine Amelia, daughter of Benjamin Winslow of that city. At that critical time, however, his devotion to the trying profession of his choice never wavered, for it is related of him that, after bidding his fair cousin good-by, when departing for his Brazilian cruise, he threw his cap into the air and shouted back, "I hope I will live to be an honor to my country!" Soon after his return from this cruise they were married, October 18, 1837, and from that time, when Winslow was not on duty elsewhere, they resided in Roxbury, then a suburban village. Although intermarriage is a hazardous venture, it must be conceded, from our study of the antecedents of these young people, that their union could only strengthen the highest and most admirable traits in human nature, and must have done much to develop in the youthful officer those

characteristics which brought him so brilliantly through the deep trials of his later life.

The companionship of a pure woman is man's God-given encouragement, and fortunate indeed is he who is never without it! Winslow's marriage at this time was very opportune, for shortly afterward his mother died, leaving the young wife to continue alone that subtle influence of woman's devotion.

Seven children were born of this union, five sons and two daughters. Two sons entered the navy, one in the line and one as a paymaster. The former, Herbert Winslow, is now (1901) a commander. Paymaster William Randolph Winslow died in 1869, leaving one son, the only grandchild of John Ancrum Winslow, who graduated from West Point at the head of his class in 1889, and is now Captain Eben Eveleth Winslow, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. Of the seven children, Commander Herbert Winslow, U. S. N., is now the only survivor.

Two months after marriage, Winslow was ordered to the general rendezvous at Boston, and afterwards to the receiving-ship at the Boston Navy Yard. Two years of home life were thus fortunately permitted him to cement domestic bonds. In 1839, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and was then ordered again to Brazilian waters in the U. S. Schooner *Enterprise*, February 22, 1840. After a cruise of less than a year he returned to the United States on sick leave, and was once more attached to the receiving-ship at the Boston Navy Yard, thus again spending some little time with his wife at

home. During this shore duty he aided in extinguishing a fire on a Cunard steamer in Boston Harbor, October 27, 1841, displaying such bravery that he was presented with a sword-knot and a pair of epaulettes from Her Majesty Queen Victoria. These were afterward lost in the steam-frigate *Missouri*, when she was burned at Gibraltar.

Steam vessels were now being built for the navy, and one of the earliest, the frigate *Missouri*, was equipped at Norfolk, in the spring of 1842, for her maiden cruise. On the 9th of June of that year Lieutenant Winslow was ordered to the sloop of war *Warren*, then at Norfolk, but the *Warren* was found to need such extensive repairs that she was soon afterward put out of commission, and Winslow was transferred to the *Missouri*, a preferment indicating that the young lieutenant was gaining recognition at the Navy Department as an excellent officer. The *Missouri* began her cruise by visiting many home ports, so that our people could have a look at her and take pride in their country's naval development. In August she sailed for New York, where she received quite an ovation and spent two weeks. From there she proceeded to Castine, Belfast, Camden, Thomaston, Wiscasset and Bath, returning to New York September 14th, where she remained a month before visiting southern ports. On the 14th of October she sailed for Savannah, Georgia. At Savannah the junketing cruise was arrested, and a bearer of despatches for the United States Minister at Mexico was sent to take passage in the *Missouri* to Vera Cruz.

Until this time Winslow had drifted about the world in a haphazard sort of way, as a ship might drift in untroubled seas, but strong currents were now forming and fierce storms gathering, and we shall see him drawn into their midst, all unconsciously at first, but gradually realizing the perils, and meeting them with understanding, fortitude and calm endurance, until he emerges again upon smooth seas with his name and his deeds recorded in the pages of history. His letters show from this time a careful noting of passing events and much thoughtful reflection upon them, which, together with certain deep convictions, cause him almost to foresee national crises and to be prepared to take his part in them. As far as these letters will tell the story of his life, I shall permit them to do so, with no unnecessary comment, believing that "the true life of a man is in his letters." To understand some allusions in the earlier ones, it is necessary to fix in our minds the events then transpiring in our country's history, which at that time only tossed the young officer about like a chip in an eddy formed by a strong current.

The little Texan war for independence had culminated in the decisive battle of San Jacinto, April 10, 1836, when General Houston captured President Santa Anna, and extorted a treaty acknowledging the Texan Republic; but the Mexican Government had refused to ratify the treaty. Our Government and many others, however, acknowledged Texan independence, and Texas was begging for annexation to the United States. The

Democratic party declared itself in favor of annexation, but Santa Anna, once more in power in Mexico, was organizing a force for reconquest. Besides this cause of estrangement between the republics, the United States had claims for damages against Mexico for depredations upon commerce, which the latter was compelled to admit but could not be prevailed upon to pay.

" *Oct. 22d, 1842,*
" *U. S. S.* '*Missouri*,'
" SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

". . . We have a party of citizens on board, also a bearer of despatches from Washington to our Minister in Mexico; he left Vera Cruz about six weeks since with despatches for our Government. We sail for Vera Cruz this afternoon. I cannot believe we shall be detained over a month, and possibly you may not hear from me again before I reach New York; the object of the Government is to show a demonstration of proper force. If Santa Anna, President of Mexico, does not pay our claims at once, the United States will blockade the ports of Mexico, and this will prevent his expedition upon Texas which he is about carrying into effect.

" I have invented a camel-steam tug for taking vessels over bars, and am getting a model made; the persons I have shown it to are struck with its simplicity and practicability. I cannot see why it should not succeed. I have no doubt the Russian Government would give me any sum for it. However, I am not over sanguine about it. . . ."

The next letter is a graphic and true portrayal of Cuban affairs of half a century ago, and contains a paragraph showing Winslow's deep-rooted antagonism to slavery:

" HAVANA, *Nov. 2d, 1842,*
" *U. S. S.* '*Missouri*.'

" . . . We have had a large number of Spaniards and other company on board today. Nothing has tended so much

to our importance as a nation as the exhibition of this ship. The Spaniards here think we are the Great Mogul. . . .

"I dined yesterday with the Governor-General of Cuba, General Valdes, with a party of officers. He distinguished himself in the war against Don Carlos, as Commander of the troops, and was afterwards Minister of War; he is quite a fine man, and honored us all by giving us each a splendid cigar and handing us in person a cup of coffee; this he did to no other guests, the servants performing that service for them; this act of courtesy was done according to our rank; we had twenty-two courses at dinner.

"There is a good deal of Castilian pride on the part of his suite and they have an intense hatred for the people of Cuba, ruling them with a rod of iron; the strictest military discipline prevails,—seven thousand troops about the city. In the Alameda, the drive around the city walls, the people are obliged to keep in lines on one side, and the horse-guards are stationed about to compel them to do so; no person can walk the streets at night after 11 o'clock. I could not help smiling yesterday at the kind-looking old man, as he asked me to take wine, from whom all this military discipline emanates.

"There have been several English officers on board today and they were surprised at the ship.

"The Governor-General of Cuba here represents the King of Spain, and is a great man.

"I was much struck with the checkered path which life so frequently reveals, so strikingly manifested in the case of Mr. Moreland who went home to Boston, having amassed an immense fortune after working here for twenty years; he lost it all, and was obliged to return here in his old age and go to work again. It is said he invested it all with a slave dealer; if such is the case he deserved to lose it. . . ."

"Vera Cruz, *Nov. 7th, 1842*,
"*U. S. S.* '*Missouri*.'

". . . After a long passage (for a steamer) of five days, we are at length at anchor off Vera Cruz. Our bearer of despatches left the ship for that city this afternoon prior to his departure for Mexico.

"The sloop-of-war *Falmouth* lays near us, having like us brought a bearer of despatches, and will sail in a few days for Pensacola.

"The Captain would have given any of us permission to go to Mexico, but the expense of travelling deterred all but one of us from doing so. It was an opportunity I especially regretted not being able to avail myself of, as Mexico is the seat of all the splendor of the New World, rich in the monuments of past ages, and filled with what may be termed the only classical lore of America.

"I did not write you that yellow fever was prevalent in Havana while we were there, as I knew you would be anxious. All that worried me was the thought of leaving you and our dear ones to struggle along as you would have to do in case of my death.

"We are laying at a distance of three miles from the town and fort; near us is an island named Sacrificios, filled to me with associations of my early career in the Navy; it was one of the first places I came to after my debut; it is now much changed. The harsh-toned convent bell which rested in one of the niches of the walls is removed. The reefs around the island are still there, though no doubt increased by the coral insect, but notwithstanding these changes and the addition of a cemetery, in which repose the bones of many of the French who fell in the attack on the Castle, I can still fancy myself fourteen years back, wading through the water in search of shells and chasing the iguana over the mouldering walls. . . ."

"Batize Light House,
"Mississippi River,
"*U. S. S.* '*Missouri*,'
"*Nov. 23d, 1842.*

". . . We have left Vera Cruz and are now fast approaching the mouth of the Mississippi with another bearer of despatches on board and the Secretary of Legation bound to Washington. Our stay at Vera Cruz was but six days. We have several Texans with us who went in the Santa Fe expedition; completely broken down in physique and morale, they are returning home, I hope wiser than they left it. Besides

these we have a missionary from the Sandwich Islands accompanying a Minister Extraordinary to the United States. We have also $14,000 in specie, for which the Captain receives a per centage for carrying, and is consequently anxious to go down to Vera Cruz for a much larger sum.

"The pilot has just come on board, and says it is impossible to take the ship to New Orleans, so of course we go to Pensacola.

"Dec. 3d.—Arrived at Pensacola. . . ."

"*U. S. Steam-Frigate 'Missouri,'*
NORFOLK, *Jan. 31st, 1843.*

". . . Arrived here Saturday, 29th inst. I have leave to go to Washington, and start to-morrow with my 'model.'[1] Captain Newton and all that have seen it say it is a great thing. I may not get a patent, as it may interfere with others, but I will show it to the Secretary of the Navy and he must give me credit for ingenuity. . . ."

With a desire to show the *Missouri* in European waters, she was selected in the summer of 1843 to convey the Honorable Caleb Cushing, Minister to China, as far as Alexandria, Egypt.

"*U. S. S. 'Missouri,'*
"NORFOLK, VA.,
"*Aug. 2d, 1843.*

". . . We have orders to steam with all despatch for Gibraltar, show the ship everywhere, and, after landing Mr. Cushing at Alexandria, return home. . . ."

"*U. S. S. 'Missouri,'*
"FAYAL, AZORES,
"*Aug. 19th, 1843.*

". . . Yesterday we came in here and found a brig lying in harbor, bound for Boston in about two weeks. A brother of Professor Longfellow is here; he superintends the education of our Consul's children.

[1] *Note.*—A camel steam-tug for carrying vessels over bars. Winslow succeeded in procuring a patent for it, but owing to lack of capital it was never put to practical use.

"The island is like one great flower garden, beautifully cultivated; never before have I seen such a variety of plants from every clime. The splendid magnolia and japonica trees are here as common as lilacs with us. . . ."

Twenty years later he was destined again to land upon these islands, weak and in pain, scarcely recuperating from sickness and wounds, oppressed with the responsibilities of an actor in a dreadful war, yet indomitably assuming them, although he might, without discredit, have remained at home and been nursed into perfect health. Here, among the flowers which he so glowingly describes, he was to await through many months of impatience the coming of the ship whose name was to be forever linked with his own in undying glory.

The *Missouri* sailed from Fayal August 21st and arrived at Gibraltar August 25th.

CHAPTER III.

THE BURNING OF THE *MISSOURI*.

A LAMENTABLE catastrophe now cut short the career of America's handsome frigate.

On the evening of August 26th, two men were lagging a cylinder by the light of a lamp. A third man entered a storeroom overhead to get a pair of scales and knocked a wrench down upon a demijohn of spirits of turpentine, breaking it. The spirits dropped down upon the cylinder, saturated the lagging and caught fire from the lamp. The conflagration that followed is best told by quoting part of a description of the event published in a New York paper by the late Rodman M. Price, ex-Governor of New Jersey, who was the purser of the ill-fated ship:

"In the summer of 1843, Captain John Thomas Newton, commanding the U. S. Steam-frigate *Missouri*, lying at Norfolk, Va., was ordered to receive Caleb Cushing on board and carry him to Alexandria, Egypt, en route to China. Mr. Cushing had just been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to protect our first commercial treaty with the Celestial Empire, negociations having been opened by Commodore Lawrence Kearney, then commanding the United States squadron in the China seas.

"The *Missouri* was a perfect specimen of naval architecture

of 2200 tons, with two inclined engines of 600 horse-power, with four copper boilers, bark rigged, heavily sparred, was capable of keeping the seas under canvas alone, steam being used only as an auxiliary power when needed.

"This magnificent ship, being the first naval armed steamship to cross the Atlantic Ocean, to be exhibited to the Powers of Europe, stimulated the pride of the ship's company to the highest degree. Her officers were distinguished as gallant gentlemen. No finer crew had ever been mustered on the deck of a vessel, while her engineers, then new and important officers to the naval service, were thoroughly skilled in all their duties.

"With President John Tyler on board, and a distinguished party of citizens who had come from Washington to say adieu to Mr. Cushing and pray God speed to his important mission, our flag at the main, we weighed anchor from Hampton Roads, parting with the President and his friends at the Capes of the Chesapeake. No ship's company ever had more delightful anticipation of a foreign cruise.

"Gibraltar was to have been our first port, but running near the Azores, or Western Islands, Captain Newton, by general solicitation, consented to touch at Fayal, where we remained two days, during which time we were magnificently entertained by our Consul, Mr. Dabney, and his delightful and gracious family.

"We steamed away from Fayal to Gibraltar, arriving at the latter place in the early afternoon of a delightful day. Our coming was as unexpected as the astonishment created by it. This surprise was not limited to the large English squadron commanded by Sir George Sartorius (Admiral of the Blue), but was shared by the Danish squadron lying there, and other foreign vessels of war and merchantmen. It extended, as well, to the garrison and people on shore. As the majestic *Missouri* steamed up the harbor at a ten-knot speed (their band playing a national air) through the numerous shipping, hundreds of glasses were levelled at us; in coming to anchor every evolution was executed with a precision and in a style only known to Yankee sailors, and was watched by all with an absorbing inter-

est; indeed, no such steamship had before been seen. She was, in fact, at that time, a veritable steam leviathan. The size of her hull, the beauty of her outline, her heavy spars, her speed, and the gracefulness of her appearance on the water, extorted the admiration and received the praise of every true sailor. Boats immediately flocked around, and we were the recipients of a constant ovation of complimentary visits. Admiral Sartorius himself was the first to call, and he carefully and minutely inspected the ship and expressed his gratification and admiration, particularly with our battery. Our two 240-pound guns challenged astonishment, being the largest guns then afloat—and ten 68-pounders made our armament very imposing. A stay of several days was contemplated, for the purpose of taking in coal and supplies.

"On the evening of the second day after our arrival, the ship was coaling and her engines being overhauled and disconnected; the head of a cylinder was being replaced and tamped. Many of the officers[1] were on shore. Mr. Cushing, Captain Newton, and the writer were dining with the American Consul, Mr. Horatio Sprague, when suddenly from the street was heard the alarming cry: 'El frigate vapor Americano es del fuego!' ('The American steamer is on fire!') It was after sundown, and the regulations of the garrison prohibited boats from landing at the usual place. At one point only boats were permitted to land, known as the water port, where our boat had been ordered at a later hour. Rushing hastily to the water wall, we could plainly see our ship. At first sight the flames appeared as high as her maintop, and seemed to mark her inevitable doom. We were compelled to run a full half mile to the water port, following in our course the esplanade of the water battery, the bastions making an irregular, uneven surface made for the guns *en barbette*, causing us to fall, in our haste, many times. The English officers afforded every facility by opening the portcullis, letting down ladders, and lighting up the water port landing. Fortunately, just as we reached the moat, the Captain's gig came alongside, and we were pulled off in the shortest possible time to the ship, a mile distant.

[1] Among them Lieutenant Winslow.

As we approached we could hear the pumps working. The crew were at quarters, and through the ports the lurid glare of the fire was reflected from within. Such, however, was the discipline and order maintained on board, as we came near the marine sentry in the mizzen chains gave, imperturbably, the usual challenge: 'Boat ahoy!' answered by Captain Newton, from the fulness of an oppressed heart, and with an agonizing accent of despair: '*Missouri.*'

"In an instant four side boys appeared with lanterns at the ladder, and we passed on board with all the usual honors, received by the executive officer as calmly as if the crew had been at ordinary exercise. So far, everything possible under the circumstances had been done, but at that moment there was the most imminent danger of the fire communicating with the forward magazine. The fire had originated in the engine-room, down almost to the keelson, and had spread through a manhole in a watertight bulkhead, into the engineer's store-room containing stores of the most inflammable character, such as oils, turpentine, and oakum. The fact that the forward magazine was in danger was well known to the whole ship's company, yet every man was doing his duty as coolly as if engaged in 'washing down decks.'

"On reaching the ship, Captain Newton took command, and the dreadful element was fought with desperate determination to save the ship.

"Water tanks, with hose and pumps, were sent off from shore by order of General Sir Henry Wilson, commanding the garrison. Admiral Sir Charles Sartorius gallantly came on board and took position beside Captain Newton. No boats were allowed to come alongside, being informed of the danger and warned off.

"When it became doubtful as to saving the ship, an order was given to send Mr. Cushing and his effects, together with the ship's papers and treasure, ashore. A battle of more than three hours' duration had been fought against the fire. Admiral Sartorius earnestly and repeatedly entreated Newton to abandon the ship — he felt it was criminal madness to longer endanger the lives of the crew. His entreaties were unavail-

ing, and he left the doomed ship. Newton, after consultation with the officers, reluctantly gave the order: 'Every man save himself!' Many of the exhausted men plunged overboard through the gun-ports, and were picked up by the surrounding boats,— our own boats were lowered away, and many let themselves down by the boat falls. After every soul had left the ship, the gallant Captain stood alone on the wheel-house, protecting himself from the raging fire, apparently hesitating whether to go in-board and perish with the noble ship, or out-board and be saved. The stentorian voice of Sartorius could be heard invoking Newton to come away, saying he with his boat was waiting the honor to receive him. At last, Newton dropped hand under hand by a single rope over the ship's side into the arms of his own boat's crew, who had just returned from carrying Mr. Cushing on shore. By this time, so much of the ship was in flames as to light up the harbor and the numerous shipping, and the sombre city, reflecting back the frowning fortress and the towering Rock of Gibraltar. The scene was vivid and surpassingly grand. All the vessels had been moved beyond the line of danger. We had not reached that line in our boats when one of the quarter-deck guns went off — a 68-pounder — the cartridge having been ignited by the intense heat communicated to the gun, the battery having been charged with saluting cartridges. Simultaneously with the report of the gun, as if giving the signal, the forward magazine exploded, and the masts went by the board. The hulk soon settled and speedily sank; the illumination went suddenly out, and the waters were hushed in darkness.

"The officers and men, bruised and exhausted, escaped in their burnt and torn clothing, and were distributed among the many vessels lying at anchor in the harbor. All were invited on board the *Malabar*, a line-of-battle ship bearing the flag of Admiral Sartorius. Captain Newton and most of the officers got on shore, and quarters were provided for them by our Consul. Those who accepted the Admiral's invitation received warm, cordial hospitality and every kindly attention. The next morning some of our officers went on shore in the uniform of the English Navy, one midshipman, in the uniform

of the Admiral, causing much merriment as he received and acknowledged the salute due to his high insignia of rank from the sentry of the garrison. The friendly aid, and the many courteous attentions so delicately conferred upon us by the English authorities will never be forgotten by the recipients. Had we been their countrymen, they could not have done more. It was a renewed proof that 'blood is thicker than water.'

"On mustering the crew, it was found that not a single soul was lost; and nothing was saved from the ship except the chronometers and what went in the boat with Mr. Cushing. . . .

"The American ship *Rajah* was chartered, provisioned, and watered, and 350 officers and men were sent on board and sailed for home after a detention of only forty-eight hours. The remainder of the crew were assigned to the bark *Pons*, which had also been chartered, to remain near the scene of the wreck to save what property could be secured. Submarine divers were employed, who suceeeded in raising the engines and the valuable copper boilers, which were sent home, and the wreck was destroyed so as not to endanger navigation.

"After a few days' detention, Mr. Cushing left on one of the Oriental line of steamships for Alexandria.

"Immediately after the disaster, Captain Newton sent *Lieutenant John A. Winslow* home via England, with despatches to the Secretary of the Navy announcing the loss of the *Missouri* and asking instructions from the Government, Captain Newton deciding to await Lieutenant Winslow's return."

It was an evidence of high esteem upon the part of his commanding officer that Winslow was selected to be sent home with despatches announcing this catastrophe. He sailed from Gibraltar for England in a packet, August 31st, and took a Cunard steamer from Liverpool for Boston. Arriving in that city at night, he went directly to

his home, and finding the household wrapped in slumber, began to sing beneath his wife's window:

> "Gaily the troubadour touched his guitar
> As he was hastening home from the war,
> Singing, 'From Palestine hither I come,
> Lady-love, lady-love, welcome me home.'"

His young wife, although believing that her husband was sailing through the far-off Mediterranean, knew that no one else would be singing that song to her, and rushed to the window exclaiming in tones of gladness and incredulity:

"Why, John, is that you?"

"Yes," he replied.

So great was her mingled surprise and anxiety that she exclaimed:

"What *did* you ever come home for?"

He laughingly answered:

"Come down and let me in and I 'll tell you."

Winslow reported at Washington October 5th and was ordered to return to Gibraltar with despatches for Captain Newton. He therefore retraced his route, via England, Lisbon and Cadiz, and rejoined his commander at Gibraltar, November 11th.

"GIBRALTAR, *Nov. 18, 1843.*

"I arrived here Nov. 16th, found Captain Newton delighted beyond everything at the result of my visit to Washington. I found the wreck of the *Missouri* in the same situation as when I left for the United States. The Captain, Purser, and Engineer and some men remaining here and an English diver with submarine armor employed on the wreck, they had recovered property to the amount of twenty thousand dollars,

and they are continuing to bring up materials, and when the ship has been well cleared out I think there will be an attempt to raise her by stopping up all the holes and building her up again with rough boards and then pumping her out; if this does not succeed she will be blown to pieces by the galvanic process and then parts will be brought up. We have been trying to contract for this purpose, but no one will come forward, were it not for this we could start for home at once."

Resuming Price's narration:

"After Winslow's return, he and I accepted an invitation from the Marquis of Lorne, the present Duke of Argyle, to accompany his travelling party to Tangiers, on the opposite coast of Africa, for wild boar hunting. The party was a delightful one and the occasion led to many pleasant and romantic adventures. Several dashing young English officers belonging to the garrison and accustomed to riding with the hounds fox hunting in Spain, near Gibraltar, and some naval officers from the fleet swelled the list of the company. The riding and hunting over the rough country of the coast of Barbary was of the most wild, reckless, daring character. Winslow, not so much of a horseman as sailor, anxious to keep up, only succeeded on the first day's hunt in burying his horse in a quicksand, from which he and the animal were with difficulty extricated. It is pleasant to note that Winslow was saved from an unheroic death to become the distinguished officer and hero as Captain of the U. S. S. *Kearsarge*, which destroyed the celebrated Confederate ship *Alabama*. . . .

"The Marquis of Lorne, then under his majority, was on an extended tour of travel, accompanied by a suite of tutors and instructors equal in number to the average faculty of our colleges."

The yacht returned to Marseilles and the party proceeded via Paris to England, where Captain Newton and his officers took a Cunard steamer for home in January, 1844.

After an uninterrupted spring and summer with his family, young Winslow was summoned to Washington in the following October as a witness before the court-martial trying Captain Newton and other officers for the loss of the *Missouri.*

"WASHINGTON,

"*Oct. 11th, '44.*

". . . Newton delivered his defence yesterday and the trial of the Chief Engineer commences to-morrow. I am afraid it will go hard with him — the best men suffer the most in this world — I think Newton will be honorably acquitted.[1] . . ."

[1] Captain Newton was found guilty of negligence and sentenced to two years' suspension from duty. After three months, the unexpired portion was remitted. The chief engineer was suspended for one year.

CHAPTER IV.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

DURING the winter and spring of 1845 Winslow was seriously ill at his home with erysipelas. In April of that year he was ordered to the *Vincennes*, but was compelled to inform the Navy Department of his ill health, and these orders were revoked. Recovering somewhat during the summer and autumn, he was ordered to the U. S. S. *Cumberland*, in December, 1845, as a watch and division officer. This ship was fitting out for a cruise in the Mediterranean, but war-clouds were gathering thick and fast towards Mexico. Texas had been annexed to the American Union in the preceding January, and the annexation had been ratified in the Senate the following July. Mexico had not recognized Texan independence and was debating upon the annexation as a *casus belli*. The commercial indemnity claims were still unpaid; a peace-loving president, Herrera, had just been overthrown by a hot-headed general, Paredes; and open rupture with the United States seemed imminent. So the destination of the *Cumberland* was abruptly changed, and she was assigned to the Gulf Squadron

ron to become the flagship of Commodore Connor. She left Nantasket Roads, February 3, 1846, and the Commodore hoisted his flag on her after she reached Vera Cruz, in the beginning of March. At that time the two governments were in the last ditch of diplomatic wrangle, Mexico being ready to relinquish Texas as far south as the Rio Nueces, while that State, supported by the United States, claimed the Rio Grande as the boundary. Our special commissioner, Mr. John Slidell, accredited to the government of Herrera with full power to amicably adjust the difference, had been refused an audience by Herrera's successor, and General Zachary Taylor was awaiting instructions at Corpus Christi, on the Rio Nueces, with 3600 men.

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"VERA CRUZ, *Mar. 4, 1846.*

". . . I closed a letter yesterday, written from time to time during our cruise, giving you an account of my illness,[1] during which I have had quarters in the cabin. I am still quite weak, though convalescing and hope soon to be able to attend to duty. . . .

". . . As there is a probability of a rupture with Mexico, I look forward with the utmost anxiety to some decisive movement by the Mexicans. Our minister, Slidell, still remains at Jalapa, not received by the Government; we are quietly waiting orders from Washington as to the steps we shall take. General Taylor, who has been encamped at Corpus Christi in Texas for the last year, has been ordered to march upon the Rio Grande del Norte and one of the squadron of vessels sailed yesterday to be in waiting for any despatches. Our minister, Slidell, has notified the Mexican Government that he must be received or his passports must be

[1] Erysipelas.

sent him. This may bring on a crisis, though I think the Mexicans are determined to protract as much as possible. Offensive operations on our part will probably amount to nothing more than a blockade of the coast. The Commodore has notified the Department that without a heavy force no attack on the fort should be made and I do not think he would attempt it, as the fort is quite heavily manned and armed now.

". . . of our position—around us are three or four American ships, one Spanish, a French, and an English man-of-war. We are all lying at a small island, three miles from Vera Cruz, called Sacrificios where the ancient Mexicans were in the habit of sacrificing human beings to their gods. We have no communication with the town, quietly waiting events. The Commodore (Connor) has come on board and says in ten days affairs will be settled and we shall know what the Mexicans intend. . . ."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
" OFF SACRIFICIOS,
" *March 9, 1846.*

". . . By newspapers we have seen the passage of the Oregon question through the House. Our own people seem mad with their braggart course in this question, while England, with a power that could crush us, mildly invokes pacific measures. I think it ungenerous in the United States. We have an English man-of-war near us, with a fine set of officers on board, and joking together we have agreed (in case of war) that whichever is successful should secure for the other good quarters in prison.

". . . We learn that Commodore Perry is coming out in the *Independence* to relieve Commodore Connor. (Commo. Connor has made us cut our whiskers off)."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
" VERA CRUZ, *Mar. 17, 1846.*

" . . . It is tedious waiting for the decision of the Mexicans whether or not to receive our U. S. Minister, Mr. Slidell. Mexico is in a state of anarchy, rebellion, and insur-

rection secretly working everywhere. She is at the mercy of the strongest military leader. The military, all officers and no soldiers, are plotting for their own aggrandizement. . . .

"Mr. Slidell, U. S. Minister, was rejected by the Mexican Government, who voted to receive a Commissioner from the United States to agree upon terms connected with running the boundary line of Texas, etc. Mr. Polk, in consequence, sends a minister plenipotentiary and the result is that the Mexicans can delay a little longer in good faith. . . .

"The island of Sacrificios, where we land, is perhaps four acres in area, mostly covered by cane-breaks. On one side is a small graveyard with many head boards of men who have died of fever, etc., and one or two monuments. One of these is erected to French officers who fell in the capture of Vera Cruz. The inscription gives the names and rank, and the words, "They fell in the performance of their duty." Such is fame and the world's praise,—but a bubble which too soon displays its emptiness.

"March 27, 1846. Minister Slidell took his passports and has written he will come on board."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"VERA CRUZ,
"*March 30, 1846.*

"The U. S. S. *Mississippi* has just come in (four and a half days from Pensacola). Minister Slidell has just arrived from Mexico. The Mexicans have refused to receive him while a squadron is laying here, and the *Mississippi* takes him back to the United States. . . ."

While Mr. Slidell was still vainly seeking audience with Paredes, General Taylor received orders from Washington to advance to the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, which he promptly did, and on April 26 a party of his dragoons was ambushed by the Mexican soldiers, and a number were killed. When General Taylor's action became known, Mr.

Slidell was promptly given his passports, and war became inevitable. Taylor drew back his depot at Point Isabel to secure his communications, and again advanced to the Rio Grande, where, on May 8, he found before him the Mexican General Arista with a much superior force. Meanwhile the squadron off Vera Cruz had been ordered to Taylor's support.

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"*May 5, 1846.*

"Since my last letter, we have left Sacrificios and are on our way to the Rio Grande del Norte to co-operate with the army. We left on the morning of the 4th with five sail of vessels, two equal to us in force and two smaller. After a day of agreeable diversion in testing the sailing qualities of the vessels, we are now in company with only two, the others having been beaten and lost sight of in the night. . . ."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"*May 8, 1846.*

"We have arrived at the mouth of the Rio Grande and our anchor is just down, when one of the vessels is ordered off to New Orleans. . . . You have no doubt heard before this of the commencement of the War with Mexico; seventy dragoons having fallen into an ambush laid by the Mexicans. Thus the war commences which will be a short one I think, though the Mexicans have come out very well and have disappointed us in their manner of fighting which is one of stratagem altogether. Instead of civilized warfare, they lay in wait and rise up like Indians.

"Today, we think General Taylor is fighting: he will cross the river upon Matamoras, no doubt. He is an enthusiastic old man and says he will march upon Mexico. This with about 3,000 troops against 15,000 is saying much, though no doubt, if he can get them in a plain, he will do it. We are about declaring the coast of Mexico in a state of blockade. The Mexicans have sold their Navy to the English, so we cannot expect much prize mone[illegible] ."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"BRAZOS DE SANTIAGO,
"*May 10, 1846.*

"I have but a moment to write you. The day before we came in, General Taylor marched off from this place to meet the Mexicans and to carry up to the camp (opposite to the town of Matamoras) his supply of provisions and arms. The Mexicans, having knowledge of all his movements and the cause, threw upwards of 8,000 troops between this place and the American camp which is twenty-six miles distant. Seventeen miles from here in an open plain, the Mexicans met our army with 8,000 men and gave them battle, fighting all day till the night separated the combatants."[1]

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"BRAZOS DE SANTIAGO,
"*May 17, 1846.*

"We have moved the squadron from the Brazos to the mouth of the Rio del Norte with the intention of watering. A few days ago it would have been impossible to have entered the river; but the complexion of things has very much altered since then. The Mexicans are now broken-spirited, suing for mercy, without money or provisions, and the peasantry almost in a state of insurrection to the military. The loss to the Mexicans of two battles[2] will do more towards settling this difficulty about territory than all the diplomacy in the world.

"General Taylor is now throwing posts along the river and, though he says he can take Matamoras at any moment by attack, yet he prefers starving it out and saving the life which otherwise would be lost. This is humane and shows a man of consideration. He says that the army have acted so gallantly that he will not expose them unnecessarily. General Taylor is a man of fine feelings and of great sympathy for distress. When the Mexican general[3] left Point Isabel for New Orleans, he asked him if he was a married man, when, being answered in the affirmative, he told him to write any communications freely and they should be sacred, gave him a letter of credit

[1] Battle of Palo Alto.
[2] Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, May 8 and 9.
[3] Captured.

upon his banker, and despatched a steamboat to take him to the United States.

"I pity these people, they are so deluded. It is impossible for them to do anything against the United States. Such numbers have been whipped by so few of our men. In one action their killed and wounded amounted to 1200 and ours less than 200. However, this will tend to a more speedy termination of the war. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"MOUTH OF RIVER RIO GRANDE,
"*May 21, 1846.*

"I closed my last letter very hurriedly on the morning of the 18th instant, owing to my being on an expedition which was bound up the Rio Grande. We went up and took the town of Barita, the port of entry to Matamoras; and there being no further use of the squadron at the Brazos, since the whole Mexican army have run away and left everything in our possession, we have commenced our legitimate cruising. I must tell you that notwithstanding I was in the conjoined army and navy expedition which took Barita, I never saw a Mexican soldier, and I doubt if any of the army and navy will ever see another; for I expect (though there may be some left at posts) that, following the example exhibited at Barita, they will all shake the dirt of the post off their heels in the same rapid manner on the appearance of any of our men. You will see by the papers the progress of the war and the certain omens of peace; the refusal of General Taylor to cease hostilities at the solicitation of General Arista. We left the Rio Grande on the 21st to rejoin the ship again after our expedition up that river, and are now on our way to Pensacola. . . . . Many of the inhabitants had left Barita for fear of the Mexicans dealing harshly with them, on their return, for encouraging us. Among those that remained was a poor family, a mother and daughter, both with an equal number of children. One of our army officers had taken up his quarters in their house, and we occasionally received a meal there as in a tavern. I felt all my sympathies enlisted for them; the men of the family had been pressed into the army and might be

called upon to storm the town and retake it, and possibly their very guns might be the weapons to slay their own wives and children. Such is one of the horrors of war, the thought of it is enough to disgust all good men. I was glad that General Taylor had no necessity of firing on Matamoras, to take it, for Heaven knows how much misery and distress it might have occasioned; it is cheering to know that our army is so restricted by discipline that no violence or insult will be offered the inhabitants, which I am told is very different from the course of the Mexican army, who plundered and pillaged everything. I was glad, too, that Matamoras surrendered so soon, as it was intended to starve it out. Flour had already risen to seventy dollars a barrel and, had not the Mexican troops taken flight, I fear the innocent inhabitants would have suffered more from famine than from shot or shells.

"May 23. — The war I look upon as ended. The death of Louis Phillipe will forever put at rest the Oregon question and Mexico is a bugbear. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"PENSACOLA, *June 8, 1846.*

". . . The vanity of courage and glory has no charm for me when I think of the misery and bleeding hearts that everywhere strew its tracks I wonder how mad men become to be so tickled with emptiness."

"PENSACOLA, *June 10, 1846.*

". . . The Commodore has been advised of a revolution which is going on in Mexico, and we have been asked not to commence any operations against Vera Cruz until it is decided, we think a show of force before Vera Cruz will no doubt bring matters to a crisis. Santa Anna will arrive there by steamer of the 15th from Havana, when he will take up his march to put down Paredes.

"This is the cause of our leaving here so suddenly. . . . I see no fear of any attack on our side, we are not strong enough by five times our force to attack the Castle, and the moral effect of defeat would be ruinous to our reputation."

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"AT SEA, *June 21, 1846.*

"We should have been at Vera Cruz ere this but for the light winds which prevail at this season of the year, in the latitude from 29° to 26°, having delayed us. These are called horse latitudes by sailors, and their origin is singular, many years ago they were in the habit of taking large numbers of horses to the West Indies in exchange for products, and the traders were frequently becalmed two or three weeks, and, their water being consumed, they were obliged to cut the horses' throats, hence the name.

"After writing this, during my watch on deck, a man was lost overboard, in obeying my orders to take in some of the light sail, it having become squally. Every effort was made to save him, of which he was unable to avail himself. He was probably hurt in falling and sunk to rise no more, which filled me with sorrow from the fact that his life was lost in obeying my order, and threw a gloom over my feelings. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"*June 24, 1846.*

"Yesterday, we approached Vera Cruz and ere night set in, the *Princeton*, which lay off the mouth of the channel, came running down to us, one of the crew who manned the boat which came off from her was a brother of the man who was lost overboard the day previous and whom he had not seen for ten years. It was a melancholy thing to inform him of his brother's fate.

"Inside at Sacrificios are several foreign vessels at anchor. The *Raritan* is also here. Santa Anna did not arrive on the steamer but remains at Havana, from what cause I know not, though he was to lead the revolution against Paredes, and all the country have declared in his favor.

". . . We have news from Mexico that General Taylor was marching to Monterey with 9,000 men; no doubt by this time he has taken it. He writes to the Commodore that he expects to be at San Luis Potosi by the latter part of July. Should this be the case it will not be long ere he has made a conquest of Mexico. He will soon end the war himself. I have only reports to give you—nothing reliable. . . ."

CHAPTER V.

BLOCKADING MEXICAN PORTS.

MEXICO was now without a vestige of a navy; had no allies, and no commerce to be destroyed. General Taylor had advanced into the interior of the country and his communications were absolutely assured. Our navy was considered not strong enough to repeat that brilliant exploit of the French, the capture of the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa and the city of Vera Cruz, so nothing remained but to blockade Mexican ports and cut off supplies.

Soon after this blockade commenced Winslow was brought into companionship with a new messmate on the *Cumberland*. Lieut. Raphael Semmes was selected from another vessel by Commodore Connor to fill a vacancy on his personal staff. Semmes well describes the depressing occupation that fell to the fleet:

"During the whole of this period, we were confined to our ships, and engaged in the most arduous and active cruising. A rigid blockade was maintained of all the enemy's ports, and his small merchant marine was entirely swept from the sea. During the parching heats of summer and the long and

boisterous nights of the winter, our vigilance was expected to be, and was, unremitting. We frequently lived on the ship's ration, having no other means of supplying our table, and our only clean shirts were such as Jack rinsed out for us in a bucket of salt water, and hung up by a rope-yarn to rough-dry, in the rigging. We of the flagship lay most of the time at Anton Lizardo—a harbor formed by several small barren islands, rising no more than a foot or two above the sea-level, —which was even more irksome than active service on the blockade. We looked forth from our ships as from a prison, upon the glittering specks of sand, glowing like so many furnaces, beneath a tropical sun, day after day, without other variation than the occasional arrival of one of the blockading squadron, to fill up with water and provisions, and depart again on her cruise. Thither we resorted toward sunset every evening, when the weather was propitious, to stretch our cramped limbs, smoke an idle cigar, and talk over the events of the war ; a war, for the navy, of toils and vigils, without the prospect of either excitement or glory. The enemy had no navy, and what little maritime commerce he had once possessed we had already destroyed. . . . We juniors chafed somewhat under the curb which was thus placed on our ambition of emulating the army in its glorious achievements : but now that the excitement of war has passed, we cannot but recognize the wisdom of the course of our superiors. . . . But the navy, none the less, continued to perform its arduous and thankless duties. Drenched with rain by day and night, and a part of the time, on an allowance of moldy and worm-eaten bread, the officers and seamen of the several blockading ships, never lost sight (except when occasionally driven off by a norther) of the enemy's coast. Although Vera Cruz, by reason of the dangerous ground in its vicinity, is one of the hardest ports in the world to blockade, especially during the violent gales of winter, I venture to say that the history of no other blockade presents so few instances of the successful attempts of cupidity to evade the vigilance of cruisers. Although Anton Lizardo, where we lay at anchor in the flagship, was some twelve miles distant from Vera Cruz, the officer of the morn-

ing watch—frequently after a tempestuous night—was sure to see, by the aid of his spy-glass, at early dawn, the blockading ship standing in, under easy and majestic sail, for the frowning old castle of San Juan d'Ulloa."[1]

Synopsis of letters, July 1 to 30, 1846 :

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"Vera Cruz.

"What I wrote to you about the war with Mexico proves true; we have little to do but lay here to keep neutral vessels from entering the port, the war will soon be ended by General Taylor. The English are doing everything they can to induce the Mexicans to make peace. I am quite buoyant since the settlement of the Oregon question, which I see by the papers has been sent to Congress. . . . .

"A few days since we captured a small vessel which would have suited our purpose very well for watering ship, but the Commodore was so interested in the owner's story he let him off again. The fellow was so delighted, for we feasted him well, that he invited us to his place, praising the quality as well as the quantity of his fruit. The Commodore took this in earnest, and the day after he got underway in the steamer *Princeton* and ran down to this fellow's place about ten miles from Vera Cruz. Here he seemed to be so well treated he made a bargain for a full supply of fruit and provisions for the squadron, which he announced he would bring down on the following day to water. Singular to relate, the next day at daybreak the squadron got underway and down they came, sending all the boats for water. Nothing occurred on the first trip, but on the second a couple of marines were sent to the summit of a hill that overhung the stream where the boats lay, and they discovered a large force concealed in ambush waiting until the boats reached a proper distance to open fire on them, which they did at once, finding they were discovered, but fortunately too far off to do much damage ; only one man being wounded. So the jest went

[1] *Service Afloat and Ashore.*

round—'Fresh provisions for the Commodore!' However, the *Princeton* was sent in and a few shells soon drove the squad into their holes for cover, and we got another load of water in the boats."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"*August 4, 1846.*

". . . . Yesterday was Sunday, August 3rd, and we were all busily engaged with our letters by the *Princeton*, devouring the news, when bang! bang! from the Castle, and a despatch came with the news that the Castle had declared for Santa Anna, so the revolution has taken place and Vera Cruz numbers herself against Paredes and in favor of Santa Anna. . . . ."

Winslow had never fully recuperated from his illness on the trip down to the Gulf, and his weakened system quickly imbibed the malarial germs of the tropics, so that he was soon again ill, this time with remittent fever. To the doctors it seemed impossible for him to recover on the scanty nourishment of ship's food, but they underestimated his will power.

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"*August 10, 1846.*

". . . I have just been sent for by the Commodore (Connor), who wished to send me home or to the hospital at Pensacola, as the doctors had told him it would be difficult for me to recover from the effects of my illness in this climate, but I said no. Then he replied that if I broke down again he should feel it his duty to do so. . . . .

"Since I last wrote we have made an attempt to capture the town of Alvarado and the Mexican squadron[1] lying there, which resulted in a failure, not that we were defeated, for we made no trial, but the attempt was like all our movements, from the affair of the Brazos, characterized by the greatest want of judgment and weakness throughout.

[1] Mosquito vessels.

"Nothing was easier than a capture of the whole place, but after making great preparations we were foolishly frightened away. All the officers and men in the other ships are indignant. I am no fighting man myself, but I never felt more contempt. It had been determined by the Captains in consultation that an attack on the town of Alvarado should be made, and one of those officers who had influence was selected to lead the men from the ship. On the morning of the 8th we got under way with the whole squadron, two English ships of war following to see the fight, and down off Alvarado we went, arriving in the afternoon. We had scarcely taken our position when about two hundred Mexican troops marched over a hill and came down on the beach to dispute our landing, when an officer set up a cry in the Commodore's hearing that there was upwards of a thousand men, and after firing about a dozen shots at an old dilapidated fort with five guns in it, we hove up anchor and retreated in the face of the Englishmen. I have indeed felt mortified at the boasting of the Mexicans, knowing how things have been conducted here, but the war is fast coming to a close. The revolution which commenced here has extended through the central provinces. All the troops have deserted Paredes and a new ministry is formed which is favorably disposed to peace, and who no doubt will be glad to receive a minister.

"News has arrived that Monterey is captured by General Taylor. . . ."

"*U. S. S. 'Cumberland,'*
"VERA CRUZ,
"*August 19, 1846.*

". . . Two days after I last wrote you, Santa Anna arrived in a steamer from Havana. He was in bed suffering with the joints from which his leg had been amputated. He was much gratified that permission was given him to pass, and said his wife was more so. (She looked like a young girl of fourteen; he an old man. He married her six months after the death of his first wife, for whom he put the whole of Mexico in mourning.) The Government has given orders for him to pass and received him well. No doubt peace will

soon be declared. General Taylor has been ordered not to advance beyond Monterey."

The inactivity of Commodore Connor, in such striking contrast to the brilliant achievements of General Taylor, could not fail to raise an outcry in the newspapers at home, so that by the middle of August the Commodore was being violently attacked in all the public prints. He could have done little that would have affected the war, but had he undertaken more minor exploits, which would have permitted officers and men to display their courage and heroism, he would have saved the navy and himself from unmerited public abuse and kept the personnel of his squadron in a state of greater efficiency and contentment. The Navy Department, better understanding his limitations than the public, realized that it would be unjust to relieve him from his command, but felt the necessity for doing something to stop the clamor.

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"VERA CRUZ, *August 23, 1846.*

". . . Our Government is no doubt satisfied now that California is ours and our boundary secured to the Rio Grande, and desires peace. This has been an unjust war, coveting and seizing territory which did not belong to us; . . . to the honorable lover of his country a source of pain that it has been achieved at the loss of justice. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Cumberland*,'
"VERA CRUZ, *Sept. 20, 1846.*

". . . The man I wrote you about was executed. It was a severe sentence and not commensurate with the offence, but example in a disaffected ship, the *St. Mary's*, was alleged as a reason. The man was recommended to mercy and no

doubt would not have been sentenced to death if it had been supposed the sentence would have been carried out. His crime was knocking a lieutenant down on deck. The true cause of his execution was, in my opinion, that the Commodore feared he would be attacked through the papers. The crew of the ship (the *St. Mary's*) was in a bad state and had written an abusive letter of the officers to the Commodore. This was the subject of a secret or informal investigation by him, the mode of which offended the officers so that there had grown up a mutual ill feeling between them and the Commodore. Hence the Commodore feared that it would be said he backed the crew. However, the Commodore would not extend his time beyond three days. It was an affecting sight, and I could not help remarking that if all of us were punished as unmercifully for our deeds we should all be swinging at the yardarms. I cannot describe to you the poor young fellow's emotions upon his death scene; it would only harrow your feelings. . . .

"The Commodore is more taken up in killing beeves which have been brought here, catching a pail of water and such things than injuring the enemy. In fact the midshipmen relate a good joke on him that he has been elected an honorary member of the Peace Society and the members of that society have in consequence adopted the naval uniform as a mark of their profession.

"The little steamer from New York has arrived with Commodore Perry on board, though he is not ordered to the command of the squadron yet. No doubt the Government wish him to have it, and have taken this mode of hinting to Commodore Connor that he can be relieved at any moment he pleases."

"(Blockade) Vera Cruz,
"*October 8, 1846.*

"Today Commodore Perry took command of the steamers of the squadron. This is the first time I ever sailed in a squadron with two commodores commanding."

CHAPTER VI.

WINSLOW'S FIRST COMMAND.

GENERAL SCOTT was now expected soon to arrive at Vera Cruz for his advance upon the City of Mexico, and it was desirable that no stronghold should be left to the enemy along the seaboard from which he could harass Scott's communications. So Perry's advent in the Gulf Squadron was soon followed by some active operations against the lesser coast towns. In the first of these we find Winslow—who has claimed in his letters to be "no fighting man," and in them has so repeatedly shown his abhorence of the horrors of war—seeking the enemy with a zeal and fearlessness almost impossible to control. His part in this attack upon Tobasco is told by the correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, writing from Anton Lizardo, Nov. 4, 1846:

"ANTON LIZARDO,
"*Nov. 4, 1846.*

". . . It was arranged that the vessels under Commodore Perry in person should be got under way and stand down the coast, as was generally understood, to Tobasco. . . . The fleet, after knocking about in some heavy weather on the way to the mouth of the Tobasco River,

crossed the bar on the evening of the 28th of October. . . . the force moved up the river on the 29th. . . . Commodore Perry under a flag of truce sent a deputation to demand the surrender of the town. A short time was allowed for their decision and, not being satisfactory, the guns of the *Vixen* (now the temporary flagship of Commodore Perry, as the *Mississippi* had been left outside the river) opened upon the town. A detachment of men under different officers and the marines under Captain Edson were now landed and directed to hold their position until further orders. . . . Lieutenant Winslow, occupying the wing of the force up the river, perceived a number of Mexicans firing from the roofs of their houses on Lieutenant Contee, whose prize vessel had drifted near into the shore, gained permission to dislodge the Mexicans from the roofs of their houses, which was done with a few men; and once adrift from the main force Lieutenant Winslow manifested no disposition to return, but commenced skirmishing further up the street, with some musketeers who had opened upon him further in advance, until following up with his men, who were imbibing all the spirit of their leader he finally reached one of the corners of a square from which he had been fired upon over a vacant space as he made his advance. On reaching the entrance to the square, the Mexican musketeers were seen in numbers to occupy the building on the opposite diagonal, presenting the appearance of barracks. Lieutenant Winslow, leaving his men to hold their position, returned to the main body of the force and begged permission to cross the plaza and "drive the rascals," as he said, "from the barracks." But he could get no order. Capt. Edson could only reply that the force were ordered not to move from the point where they were until further orders were given. Lieut. Winslow, disappointed and affirming he could and would, if permitted, carry the barracks with his handful of men, returned to his men and continued his firing at the Mexicans and they at him from the opposite diagonals of the square. This firing was heard on board the vessels, as if in the midst of the town, and was continued by Lieut. Winslow until peremptorily ordered to withdraw to the main body of

the force, which was now held at the point of their landing by the chains of an order they could not disobey; and when he had reached the river, the force were already re-embarking for the ships."

Captain Edson reported the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Winslow to Commodore Perry, who publicly complimented the young officer, made especial mention of his bravery in despatches to the Navy Department and placed him in command of the *Union*, a small vessel that had been captured from the Mexicans. Her name was changed to the *Morris* in memory of Lieutenant Charles Morris, a son of the famous Commodore of 1812, who died of a wound in the throat received at Tobasco. Morris and Winslow had occupied adjoining staterooms the night before the action and the unfortunate young officer had confided to Winslow in the early morning that he had dreamed he was shot in the throat.

"Anton Lizardo, Vera Cruz,
"*November 1, 1846.*

"I have just returned from an expedition to Tobasco of which the papers will give you all the information. I have not time to write you full particulars, but I came up in a beautiful vessel, the *Union*, which I was ordered to command, one which we cut out, and I only arrived in time to get a word to you, but I wanted to relieve your mind of all fears about me.

"I was the only one on shore fully engaged with the enemy, but I escaped unhurt. My trust was fully in God's protection. I hope these horrors of war will soon be over and I can return once more to you and our dear children. In the *New York Herald* you will find all the news of the attack on Tobasco.

"Poor Morris has gone to his long home, shot in the throat,

he is just dead. He received his wound in a boat going to the assistance of an officer attacked by a large body of men."

"Vera Cruz,
"*November 4, 1846.*

"I wrote you I was in the expedition to Tobasco, the only successful one which the Navy has accomplished. For this we are indebted to Commodore Perry. One has only to see the misery which war creates to become sick of its horrors; poor, miserable, unoffending persons, marks for shots of an excited soldiery. To-day we are called upon to bury poor Morris, I shall be one of his pall-bearers. It was only a few days since I left him on board the *Mississippi* and he thought he was improving, but it was a wonder he lived so long, for his throat inside was all shot away."

"Tampico, Mexico,
"*Nov. 21, 1846.*

"We are at length in possession of this place and what is most gratifying, it has been taken without bloodshed. We came in here on the 14th, the whole mosquito fleet having been towed up by the small steamers. We expected fully they would give us a hard battle, but a boat with a flag of truce with the head man of the town met us, and after some preliminaries the town surrendered unconditionally. We have sent up to Matamoras for troops to come down and garrison it, after which we shall no doubt sail again for Vera Cruz. Tampico is a place of great importance to us now, as being necessary to supply the army on its route to Mexico. It possesses great wealth and more commerce and population than Vera Cruz. We were very much surprised at its surrender, but Santa Anna had ordered all the troops up to San Louis Potosi to oppose the march of General Taylor. The guns had been carried off or thrown into the river, six thousand stand of arms, which we are looking for now. The people are glad enough at our taking the town and are desirous to know if we intend holding it after the war. The population is about the same as Monterey and it might have been equally as well defended, in which event it would have been impossible

for us to take it with our small force. Three of their naval vessels have fallen into our hands which we shall use against them, besides one or two merchant vessels."

"TAMPICO,
"*December 2, 1846.*

"We are still here waiting arrivals from the army which almost daily flock in to garrison this place. The Mexican vessel which I command is caulking; she is one of their navy vessels and will be ready in about three days. Our army has invested Tampico, so there will be no farther need of our services, so we must soon leave for Vera Cruz. The crew of the *Raritan* has been transferred to the *Cumberland*, which is to sail immediately for Norfolk.

"My constitution is much debilitated by this Tampico climate with its chills and fevers. The bands are now playing on shore the air of 'Blue Eyed Mary,' and the plaza is filled with Mexicans to see our soldiers drill, glad enough to see sights so different from the usual horde of Indians."

"TAMPICO,
"*December 8, 1846.*

"Still here, more than half of our men ill with intermittent fever. I have been quite ill with it myself and my head seriously affected with inflammation, one of the abscesses in my ear burst and discharged quite freely last night, which has relieved me from intense pain.

"About 1200 of our troops have arrived. Yesterday we drew off all the marines from the town and, though quite sick, I took charge of them with all the boats and conveyed them to the Fleet. When I returned in the afternoon I was so ill I was obliged to go to bed and to-day have my ears poulticed again after a night of suffering.

"The mosquitoes prevent sleep, the loss of which causes fever to strangers. I think no net or covering avails; the torture from them is inconceivable. In the morning, in addition, you find the bed strewed with fleas.

"There is very little to interest one in the town or its inhabitants. The only thing that can be said in its favor is that it

has fine walks and clean streets, and, after our tedious blockading duty, I enjoyed a good walk on *terra firma*."

During this period, Winslow's former shipmate and companion on the *Cumberland*, Raphael Semmes, also had an independent command, the brig *Somers*. It is a strange coincidence that they should now both lose their vessels by shipwreck and be again thrown together on the *Raritan*, Winslow sharing his wardrobe and stateroom with Semmes.

"*U. S. S.* '*Raritan*,'
"ANTON LIZARDO ANCHORAGE,
"*December 19, 1846.*

"I have just arrived from Tampico this evening and write by a vessel which leaves to-morrow for New Orleans. My vessel has gone! On the night of the 16th thrown upon the reefs in one of those furious northers, from which after hard work we were relieved by the boats of the *John Adams*. Scarcely could the boats live in the horrid breakers, but we got off the boats half filled with water. It was all the Commodore's fault *who sent me to sea without instruments, book, map or anything in the way of a light and destitute of every means of navigation*. Had not the vessels at anchor changed their places, my direction would have been right. Had not my lead line, the only time I wanted it, broken and the lead been lost, I should have known where we were. After getting on the reef, we hove off again by anchors, and when we could have put sail on and gone free, we could not get loose from the chains which bound us to the anchor. Nothing could be obtained to unshackle the chain: we tried half an hour with our large axes in vain.—Prometheus-like, we remained bound to the reef — until the violent tempest and heavy breakers came rushing upon us, broke us adrift, threw us upon the rocks, the sea breaking over us and filling our boats, the men became clamorous to leave. I told them they might go, I would not. As a last effort I put sail on to push her forward, or over the reef, but the violence of the wind immediately

threw her over, so, finding every effort useless, we left her and, thank heavens, got clear. . . .

"The Commodore could say nothing, knowing well that it was shameful in him to send me to sea without the least means of navigation in a sea so liable to heavy tempests, yet all would have been well had not the lead line broken and the *Adams* having changed her position, being farther in than usual, the light which she shew became a false guide.

"The Commodore has determined upon giving up all operations here until the spring, the sea being a continuous tempest has already occasioned so many losses, — so all the small vessels and steamers which we have taken along the coast have been sent to different Mexican ports. . . .

"On board our ship is the Captain of the *Somers*. He is one of our lieutenants and was temporarily in command of the *Somers* when she was wrecked. Think what an awful experience, a ship struck over in a squall and sinking under you and you obliged to trust to an oar or something such for life, however it is a joke now. All the officers and men saved are here in the ship. Semmes, the Captain that was, I am very intimate with, so I frequently say, 'Captain Semmes, they are going to send you out to learn to take care of ships in blockade,' to which he replies, 'Captain Winslow, they are going to send you out to learn the bearing of reefs.' "

How remarkable is the paragraph expressing horror at Semmes's predicament when his ship sank under him, in the light of the future when its writer was destined, in another bloody war and with deadly purpose in the greatest of naval duels, to cause his former friend to pass again through that dreadful experience!

In spite of Winslow's persistent efforts to keep up, it was evident now, not only to the doctors, but to his superior officers, that he was unfit for further duty in the tropics, and he was sent home.

"Norfolk, Va.,
"*January 11, 1847.*

"Having been transferred from the *Raritan* to the *Mississippi* by orders of the Commodore (shortly after my return to Vera Cruz from Tampico) in the place of Lieutenant Parker I have arrived here. The *Mississippi* has been ordered home for extensive repairs in her machinery and also other alterations are contemplated in her internal structure. If we are detached while this is done, if the war with Mexico is not ended, I shall probably apply to be re-attached to her as soon as she is ready to return to the Gulf. I am writing in haste to mail this as soon as we arrive in Hampton Roads, being now off Point Comfort. . . ."

Winslow was detached from the *Mississippi*, Jan. 15, 1847, and granted three months' leave, after which he was ordered to the Boston Navy Yard as Ordnance Officer.

CHAPTER VII.

EXECUTIVE OF THE *SARATOGA*.

ANTICIPATING a full term of shore duty at the Boston Navy Yard, Winslow moved his family into quarters in the yard and settled down to a well-earned recreation after the illness and hardships he had so heroically endured. Nothing more was done by the Gulf Squadron which could excite his regret at being compelled to leave it. General Scott marched to Mexico City, and, in February, 1848, the treaty of peace was signed.

Scarcely a year had been spent at the Boston Yard, however, when unexpected orders came assigning the young officer to the U. S. Sloop of War *Saratoga*, as executive.

He joined her at New York, April 8, 1848, being compelled to leave to his wife the task of packing up household goods and moving from the Navy Yard to their Roxbury home. The *Saratoga* was commanded by Commander W. C. Nicholson.

A formidable insurrection had broken out in the republic of Santo Domingo which placed the lives of United States citizens in jeopardy, and the *Saratoga* was to be sent to the island for their protec-

tion, and thence, when conditions permitted, to make a cruise of surveillance along the Mexican coast until the affairs of that country regained a state of equilibrium.

Winslow was now thirty-seven years of age. He had reached that period in life when youthful ardor has worn off and domestic habits are fully formed. The monotonous peace-routine of naval duty afloat, when an officer feels that he is, at the sacrifice of home comfort and happiness, living away his life to no useful purpose and leaving to a wife far away the whole care of bringing up his children, while the latter are wholly forgetting his existence, and when he realizes that in compensation for such service he is receiving a bare livelihood that permits nothing to be laid aside for the family maintenance in the event of his untimely and not unlikely death in his dangerous profession, becomes almost unbearably irksome. Hence we find Winslow making every effort to leave the service and engage in another pursuit, and we cannot help feeling surprised that a man of his indomitable energy, with a commercially valuable invention for those days, should fail to succeed. Matter-of-fact people will be content to attribute it to his total lack of business training, but to others of deeper thought who remember his later brilliant achievements, there is seen the guiding hand of Providence restraining him from a path in which he might have been useful also, and continuing his preparation until he became a fit instrument for the deeds that he accomplished. Happily, he was

able to pass part of this trying period performing the duties of an executive officer, or second in command, which are not wholly subordinate.

"New York,
"*April 15, 1848.*

"I was glad to hear the Captain reading prayers to the crew at muster. I told him I would cheerfully back him. This will be a pleasant duty for me, for I daily feel the growing necessity of religious duty. Truly, I feel my position without it would be intolerable. . . .

"May 20th. Entered the harbor of the port of Aux Cayes, San Domingo. . . . to see our sable republican brethren. How truly we have exemplified the dominion of Southern influence in our foreign policy with this island. She, entitled to our best sympathies, as one of the first which followed in our footsteps, to declare her independence and her free republican principles that all men were born free and equal; and how was she received by us, not with open arms as we welcomed other nations which came afterwards, but so exactly in contradiction to our professions that well may we be a laughing stock for Europe. Alone of all civilized nations we have refused to acknowledge her independence. It needs no commentary.

" . . . We are nearly off the town of Aux Cayes. The Captain has just given me all his despatches from the State and Navy Department and asked me to go in and call upon the authorities. The state of the country being revolutionary, we are sent here by the request of the American residents to our Government. . . .

"Sunday evening, May 21.—After a tedious day of rowing and sailing (the town is eight miles from our anchorage), I have just returned to the ship. I have never seen a more miserable place—all negroes of the most dirty and squalid appearance. This part of the island is in complete revolution, suppressed for a moment by the President's presence in town. I made every endeavor to get an interview with him, but did not succeed. I saw, however, the General of this Department

who does not look unlike one of those negro parsons at the South. I had some conversation with him. Think of my dining with these strapping sable black darkies! . . . An hour before I left, I sent word to the President that I had called to pay my respects and, not being received, I addressed him a letter expressing our disposition to extend all civilities in the way of salutes, and if he was disposed to reciprocate, I should await his answer for an hour, when arrangements would be made. The hour having passed without any reply, I left and shall take no further notice of the authorities without advances on their part. So my Sunday has been passed reviewing about 3000 'nigger' troops with cocked hats, long coats, and no shoes or covering on the rest of their bodies. Miserable race! Far below in intellect our Southern negroes. The plantation negroes of the South are infinitely better off. The free government of Hayti is one of the greatest burlesques in the world. The most abject wretchedness prevails here, filth, assassinations and murder under the plea of *liberty*, military glory the great desideratum. Nothing will make amends for the want of education; no matter how great the possessions, without it a few years will bring poverty and misery upon any nation."

"*U. S. S. 'Saratoga,' May 23, 1848,*
"OFF THE ISLAND OF SAN DOMINGO,
"FORT AUX CAYES.

"We received a note from the President, in answer to mine of yesterday, signifying his pleasure to receive the Captain and his suite to-day, and intimating his desire for a salute. . . ."

"HARBOR OF VERA CRUZ,
"*June 27, 1848.*

"We are lying about three miles from Vera Cruz, with little or no communication with the town from fear of the fever. There are about ten thousand troops outside the city who are waiting for transportation vessels to take them to New Orleans. They are not permitted to come into the city, on account of the fever. Before a month expires pretty much all of Mexico will be given up to the Mexicans, as the troops are leaving for

home daily. But now comes this Yucatan business, which is likely to trouble the Navy. It seems Captain Waldron with two hundred marines is down at Campeachy to overcome the Indians, who have been endeavoring to obtain their rights in possession of the country, and in order to obtain this end have not been very chary of the manner pursued. The outrages of the Indians have been such that appeal has been made to Commodore Perry for protection, and though we cannot approach within seven miles of any part of the coast, and the protection which ships can give must be of a very limited kind, as the President has stated to Congress, yet we had orders from the Commodore when he left here to remain on the coast till the Secretary of the Navy can be heard from and to go to Laguna (a place in Yucatan near Tobasco) and remain there until we hear from the Department. . . .

"My opinion is Vera Cruz in a month's time will be wholly evacuated, so rapid is the embarkation of the army, who are fully disgusted with the war, which it is gratifying to find is closed and an end put, not only to the loss of life, but to the immense concatenation of moral vices which follows in its train; truly I have been shocked at the relation of some of them. It is a true saying that death is the least evil of war."

"At sea, *July 1, 1848.*

"On our way to Laguna. . . . The land along the coast at the foot of the bay of Mexico, where we are now running, is of the most mountainous character. On one side are the high mountains of San Martin lifting their rugged heads far above the clouds, on the other is the volcano of Tuxla, belching forth its smoke. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the land presents an outline at once picturesque and romantic, yet all interest is lost in the ideal of its features, because of the dear-bought knowledge that sickness and disease are its accompaniments. A most uncivilized set are its inhabitants. Laguna, however, is not so free from the ideal, for at a nearer distance are the mountains of Yucatan, at the foot of which are found the ruins of the cities so graphically described by Stephens. . . . Never was there a more pitiful looking set than

the retiring army : to see them and read the ebulitions of editors upon the glorious army, is a travesty upon human nature. . . ."

" *U. S. S.* '*Saratoga*,'
" LAGUNA, *July 13, 1848.*

" Since we have been here, one of the churches was burned, struck by lightning in a terrific thunder gust. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the inhabitants, who looked upon it as a visitation of God for their sins. Near the ruins of the church is a large building which has been erected by the Americans for the poor half-breeds, who have fled hither from the interior for protection—most pitiable objects. The Americans applied to the priests to open their churches to give them shelter, which they refused to do, but yesterday they applied to Captain Bigelow to turn these poor people out of this building that they might put their mortar and materials in for rebuilding their church. He flew into a terrible rage with them, and though not superstitious himself, said he believed God had visited them, for refusing shelter to these poor wretches, by burning their church. He refused their request with a terrible reprimand."

" OFF CAMPEACHY,
" *Sept. 5, 1848.*

" We yesterday left Laguna on our way to Pensacola, never I hope again to return to Yucatan, which has now rejoined herself to Mexico and has incorporated herself as an integral part of that state, so by treaty we are now forbidden to keep squadrons upon her coast."

" PENSACOLA, *Sept. 16, 1848.*

" Our orders received here are to continue sailing round the coast of Mexico, round Yucatan, etc. . . ."

" VERA CRUZ, *Nov. 10, 1848.*

" There has just come in an English brig of war from Jamaica, on board of which is a Lieutenant Hallett who was on board the *Malabar*, R. N., when the *Missouri* was burned at Gibraltar, and was one of those officers who was despatched

to assist in extinguishing the flames. He was very glad to see me and talked over that event with the greatest interest, and treated me as a dear friend. He has sent me on board a file of the *Illustrated News*, all of recent date, and has made very kind offers. . . ."

"Vera Cruz, *Nov. 15, 1848.*

"Our anchorge is at the island of Sacrificios. . . .

"I was much struck the other day on finding in one of the huts a tablet of white marble, a memorial of Lieutenant Lowe of the British Navy, who died on board the *Alarm*, under which were two letters addressed to any officers asking their aid in having it suitably set up over his grave, pointing out its position. I intend, should the English brig-of-war not return here, to have it done, as one day we may have to ask similar favors."

"*Nov. 24, 1848.*

"Our brig with my kind old friend, Lieutenant Hallett, R. N., on board has gone down the coast on a practice excursion. . . . After writing the above, I went on shore and took all the men and cleared out the burying-ground, which was thickly overgrown with cane. With axes, cutlasses and various other instruments we succeeded in almost clearing it away from the grave of Lieutenant Lowe of the British Navy, fulfilling the wishes expressed in the letters which we found under the tablet. We shall now go to work and build a mausoleum. . . ."

"I suppose you would like me to tell you something of my messmates and my life on board. But I must say there is little heard in a mess which will bear repetition—stale jokes and conversation which have little charm for me. So you may think I am not the most popular person in the world—not that I am ever in dispute—but I don't think my retired ways and habits of thinking suit the officers, in other words, I am not 'hail fellow well met.' I am more pleased in discovering traits of character in the men, with a view of exerting a healthy influence over those who seem capable of being improved. . . ."

"PENSACOLA, *Mar. 4, 1849.*

"I have written to Foote, hoping, as his complaint is a lingering one, that my letter may reach him before his death. . . . I have a high opinion of Foote, I know his charity and principles—his example has not been without its fruits to me. . . ."

Captain, afterwards Rear Admiral, Foote, recovered from his severe illness, and Winslow, as we shall see, commanded a vessel in his squadron on the Mississippi River in the early part of our Civil War.

"NEW ORLEANS, *Mar. 29, 1849.*

"We sail in a day or two for Yucatan and along the coast to Mexico. Is not this horrible to think of continuing this cruise we so often have gone over before?"

"OFF TAMPICO, *April 28, 1849.*

". . . I am buoyed up with the hope of our return and with the prospect that I may stay with you not to be parted again. I am about sending off all my papers with a model of my camel steam tug to Washington. . . . It is simply a vessel which tows ships over bars, however shallow the water may be, with the same facility as a steamboat; hence New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, St. Petersburg, Russia, and like places can have ships of the largest size towed up to their wharves with as much ease as the common tow-boats now take a vessel in deep water. Thus the whole southern coast, which before was shut up owing to bars, will be opened, and you may judge how valuable my invention must be. Mr. Gilbert, the celebrated drydock man, with whom I feared I might have to contest the patent, and whom I happened to meet here, said he would do anything in my favor, and handed me a strong letter saying my machine was admirably adapted for its purpose; so I have made some improvements and am just sending off a miniature model to Commander Joseph Smith."

"Vera Cruz, *May 31, 1849.*

"I only hope that I may succeed in my machine and have a life with you at home, and that our children may be educated in the knowledge of the true purposes of life."

"June 3, 1849. We are now on our way to Tampico, having commenced our cruising, which we will not finish until our arrival at Pensacola about the 5th of July, as we shall stop and communicate with nearly all the ports, which will fully occupy the intervening time."

"Pensacola, *July 17, 1849.*

"We have orders to proceed to Laguna by way of St. Thomas and home to Boston ; ordered off in the utmost haste. I saw Commodore Parker the other day : he spoke of you very warmly, and the difficulties you had moving from the Navy Yard. I thanked him for his kindness. Commodore Parker is very kind and much beloved by the officers in his ship."

"Off Pensacola Navy Yard,
"*July 20, 1849.*

"We are delayed again for several days. I am anxious to be off and get home once more, though I know not how long I may be with you. This is the reason I hope so much for a change of profession from this life at sea of constant privation and hardships, exposed to all climates and their diseases, with a small salary which hardly gives one a support."

"Off Pensacola Navy Yard,
"*August 6, 1849.*

"Yesterday was Sunday, a fine though very hot day, so I went to Pensacola, eight miles distant, to take the sacrament. We had a good practical sermon and quite a number of communicants, Lieutenant Trenchard of this ship and Captain Randolph of the *Albany* among them. I think the Navy subscriptions principally support the churches here. Our court martial has lingered so long, we are not going to Laguna."

The *Saratoga* sailed from Pensacola August 15 and arrived at Newport, R. I., early in September, where Winslow was soon afterward detached and went home.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE FRIGATE *ST. LAWRENCE.*

AFTER two years ashore, Lieutenant Winslow received orders to the Frigate *St. Lawrence*, fitting out at the New York Navy Yard for flagship of the Pacific Station. Leaving the comforts of domestic life, with which he was just becoming familiar, and a young wife soon to become a mother, he embarked upon a cruise of unusual duration—a criuse of long, monotonous journeys at sea and only minor incidents throughout. What little of interest he found he has described in his letters. They take us into Valparaiso in its wild days of youth, into San Francisco during the mad search for gold, and into Hawaii as it emerges from barbarism.

On the 11th of December, 1851, the *St. Lawrence* sailed from New York for her station, intending to stop at Rio *en route.*

"RIO JANEIRO, *Jan. 31, 1852.*

"It is now twelve years since I have been in this port. Its beautiful bay, encircled with towering mountains which rise in every picturesque form, has lost none of its grandeur of nature. But art has added changes in the activity of increased commercial life, which gives it an air of more importance. Rio Janeiro is the great half way house for the many ships

which stop here on their way from Europe and America in their voyages to the Pacific."

"VALPARAISO, *March 18, 1852.*

"After an unusually short passage for a sailing vessel, we arrived at this place, Valparaiso, the Valley of Paradise, sad misnomer, which we are to realize in a long detention, from present prospects. We arrived here March 14th from Rio Janeiro and found our Commodore (McCauley) in the *Raritan* waiting here.

"Valparaiso contains about 40,000 inhabitants and is situated at the base of the Cordilleras chain of mountains. The character of the country is so ridgy that the shore of the sea has been stolen to form the only street in the town. This street winds at the base of bold promontories which hang over the sea; the effect of which is so striking with their projecting peaks and deep ravines between, covered with propped-up buildings, that the sailors have named the most noted hills the fore, main and mizzen tops. Aconcagua, 23,000 feet in height, is the most imposing of the snow-covered mountains and is called here the Belle of Quilota. The hills, without verdure, stretch far back, increasing in elevation until the snow-capped Cordilleras bound the horizon of sight. It is the first city of importance after rounding the Cape, the greatest commercial emporium on the western coast of South America. The climate, beautiful as to temperature, produces fruit and vegetables similar to our own."

"*U. S. Frigate 'St. Lawrence,'*
"OFF VALPARAISO,
"*April 9, 1852.*

"There are so many English, Americans and Germans in Valparaiso, differing in this respect from Spanish cities in general, that officers have the advantage of good society if they desire it. We have been invited to two or three dinner parties and several excursions. . . . .

"We have several French and English ships of war about us, with the officers of which we occasionally exchange visits.

"To-day is Good Friday, a great day here among the Roman

Catholics. The French frigates also have formed their yards into crosses with Judas Iscariot hanging in effigy from them, and on shore all the usual pageantry for which the former are characterized.

"I am much surprised at the state of things on this side of America since I was here last. *Then*, a year would elapse without news from the United States. But commerce has increased, new resources developed, the Atlantic has grown old and the Pacific has the energy of youth — San Francisco and Oregon taking the lead — such is the magic of gold."

"CALDERA,
"SEAPORT OF COPIAPO, CHILI,
"*May 1, 1852.*

"After I wrote you, at Valparaiso, I met Mr. Wheelwright, brother of Mrs. Codman, of Dorchester. He has been in South America, off and on, for twenty-five years, and keeps open house at Valparaiso. The English Admiral and two Captains, one a nephew of the Duke of Wellington, are here and live constantly with him. He took quite a fancy to me and my camel steam tug invention. He is a leading spirit here, the builder of a railroad from this point to Copiapo, and also the originator and principal owner of the waterworks for supplying Valparaiso. He offered me a room at his house which I never accepted. He gave us permission to pass and repass freely on the railroad, here to Copiapo, the great silver mining district of South America, of which we have availed ourselves. What a country it is, where if they only had fuel, mountains of copper and silver could be smelted, but it is just the limit of the great desert of Atacama, like Africa without its heat, for it is the finest climate in the world, temperature 70° all the year round.

"We have visited many mills for working the ore. But, oh, the Spaniards, such a set of gamblers! I went to the works of a man who had lost in gambling $3,000,000 alone. Think of that sum! An Englishman, President of the Railroad, was almost as bad. The American engineers told me he had bet before them on the turn of a single card 4000 doubloons, or $70,000, and lost in one night a large fortune. To-night we

were invited to go and see them play, but I declined. Such is the life of the rich men of South America."

"CALLAO, *May 18, 1852.*

"After leaving Copiapo, where we received our first letters from home, since leaving New York, we touched for a day or two at Arica and the Chincha Islands, off Pisco, the last great island of guano. I expected to remain at Callao two months and write you fully, but we have received orders to sail in thirty hours for the Sandwich Islands, and from thence to San Francisco after our provisions are consumed."

"HONOLULU, *June 28, 1852.*

"We arrived here after thirty-two days' passage, having run a greater distance than from here to Boston direct, and equal to one-fourth the circumference of the world. . . . .

"This place evinces more civilization, perhaps, than any of the islands in the Pacific, being now an American town, though originally savage like the other islands. It is now governed by a constitution very liberal in form, with missionaries for ministers, schools as in Massachusetts, other similar institutions, a large commerce, etc., the whole being the work of Massachusetts missionaries, one of the most remarkable instances of their successful benevolent efforts.

"I have been invited to visit Parliament, now sitting. Yesterday several officers were received in a most distinguished manner. The Crown Prince, as Speaker, conducted affairs very handsomely. What would Captain Cook, the discoverer of these islands, say now could he rise from the dead and, in contrast to the hordes of savages he found here, see the people now who are far in advance of the Spanish of South America."

"SAN FRANCISCO, *Aug. 20, 1852.*

"We are on duty every moment. Our men are infected with the gold fever to such a degree that we have to keep all the marine muskets loaded for service, sentries posted everywhere, and a brace of pistols for the officer of the deck, consequently the Captain is using every effort to get away. Five of our men have deserted to-day."

"HONOLULU, *Sept. 12, 1852.*

"After a fortnight's passage we have returned here, after looking for an unknown island which we were ordered to survey on our route. The state of the crew from the gold mania was such as compelled our leaving San Francisco, consequently we missed the mails from the United States, which we have since learned arrived the day after our departure. Those on shore, periodically in receipt of mails, cannot realize the privation to us.

"Few people know the trials of the Navy Life, this continued surveillance of the worst set of scoundrels under the sun. Formerly orders given were promptly obeyed; now you have to go after a man and enforce your orders. We have now four men confined for attempt at murder. Two of them having quarrelled a few days previous, one held a grudge, watched his chance when the other was sitting down, approached and struck him in the head two heavy blows with an axe, strange to say without killing him. Of course the assailant was arrested. I could only leave the ship once in San Francisco; I had to be constantly on duty."

"'*St. Lawrence*,' HONOLULU,
"*Nov. 20, 1852.*

"I enclose a topographical view with explanation and description of the great volcano in the Island of Hawaii, which I took the opportunity while at Hilo of visiting. We had gone down to Hilo to escape the storms of the season, when we last sailed from this port and had expected to have remained there quietly until relieved by the *Postsmouth*, but four days ago a schooner came in, despatched to bring us here again with the news that the American whalers had arrived and captured this town, burning several houses. We sailed immediately, and after arriving here found that it was nothing more than a riot. An American sailor had been killed by the police, while resisting arrest, which caused the riot. The harbor is filled with American whalers, and no doubt 3000 sailors could be mustered from them.

"We have, however, received our orders to Valparaiso. Our Captain is to relieve Commodore McCauley and to be

Commodore in his place. The *St. Lawrence* will thus be the flagship. Ten thousand miles must we sail before we reach our destination—Valparaiso."

In February, 1853, while at Valparaiso, Winslow heard of the death of his youngest child, which he had never seen—the little boy born shortly after his departure from New York.

"*U. S. Frigate 'St. Lawrence,'*
"VALPARAISO, *April 1, 1853.*

"A few nights since I, in company with two other officers, was visiting at the house of Mr. Hobson (of the firm of Alsop & Co.) when several ladies came in. Among them I was introduced to a Mrs. Ancrum. Somewhat surprised, I asked her if her name was Scotch. She said yes, and I replied my name was also Ancrum and also Scotch. I found that there was a connection between my mother's family and her husband's. She told me her husband, who would be in shortly, would be glad to continue the subject. He came too late for me to refer to it that evening, but two days after I met Dr. Ancrum at a dinner party given by the British Admiral, when I learned that his grandfather and mine were brothers, and that while in the United States he had endeavored to find out his relations, but was unsuccessful. He has two uncles in the British Army. His grandfather and mine were opposed to each other in the Revolution, which separated them.

"He called afterwards and asked me to dine with him at 6 o'clock Friday. He has charge of the English Hospital here, and is said to be the first surgeon in South America, a pupil of Liston. We shall sail next week for the intermediate ports between here and Callao, possibly down to Panama. We have received a great deal of attention in the way of invitations recently and considerable interchange of civilities especially with English officers."

The *St. Lawrence* proceeded to Callao and Payta, thence again to the Sandwich Islands, arriving

there in the midst of the frightful smallpox epidemic which so nearly destroyed their population. She therefore avoided the port of Honolulu and sought the Lahaina anchorage of Maui, where she found the *Portsmouth* in refuge from the infected ports and badly in need of provisions. Remaining in that pleasant anchorage a fortnight, she then sailed for San Francisco, arriving Sept. 1, 1853. There Winslow met several army and navy officers who had resigned and made fortunes, and there many of the *St. Lawrence's* crew resigned, crazed by the gold fever and the gambling and dissipation of the place.

When about to sail once more for Valparaiso a letter was received from the U. S. Minister at Mexico requesting that the *St. Lawrence* proceed to Acapulco to investigate the capture of an American vessel.

"Acapulco, Mexico,
"*Oct. 21, 1853.*

". . . We came here in the nick of time, for Americans have been subjected to all sorts of abuses by the government of Santa Anna, who is seeking another war with the United States or the elevation of himself to the throne after the manner of Louis Napoleon. We have sent orders to the vessels captured to be ready to go to sea immediately."

The seized vessels were released and conducted to sea by the *St. Lawrence*, which then proceeded to Panama, where orders were received to hasten to Callao on account of the seizure of an American vessel while loading guano at the Chincha Islands.

"*November 18, 1853.*

"Our minister, Mr. Clay, expects instructions by the next

steamer from Washington. The case is one of great injustice and abuse, and required a prompt and efficient course. There being no man-of-war present prevented this, but our arrival alters the face of things and we shall no doubt obtain a settlement by the Peruvian Government paying all demands, in amount $70,000, for the maltreatment of the Captain and crew of the vessel. Since our arrival here a revolution has commenced down at Pisco, seventy miles distant, and it has progressed so far that the Government is placing all their money in the Peruvian ships of war. I should not be surprised to hear of the revolutionists marching on Lima."

"*U. S. S.* '*St. Lawrence*,'
"CALLAO, *Jan. 12, 1854.*

"The Government party are out with a bulletin to-day that they have beaten the revolutionists in fight—doubtful.

"There is constant difficulty between our men and the Peruvians; continued claims are being made upon them for insults. The Peruvians dislike us so much. The other day I was on shore and seeing a crowd running down to the water, I walked down myself, when, to my surprise, I saw all the dock loafers (a mixed breed of Indians, Spaniards, and Negroes) stoning three of our men who were on the wharf. The stones flew like snow balls and quite as large. I went up to the Governor, and told him if his police were so defective that they could not prevent a repetition of this, that we would prevent it ourselves. The Commodore took it up. Another case of a different kind is on trial now. . . .

"Just half a mile from us is a long narrow strip of land running into the sea; on the surface remain the cupolas of old churches. These are the only relics of old Callao, which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1746.

"Jan. 26, 1854. . . . There does not seem to be much chance of a speedy settlement of the Chincha difficulties as the Peruvians prefer negotiating at Washington, and once our Government takes it in hand it may be like claims in Congress, a legacy for our children."

"OFF CALLAO, *Feb. 12, 1854.*

"Mr. Clay (U. S. Minister) has detained us here to await

the arrival of the *St. Mary's* to relieve us. The revolution among the Peruvians still lingers. . . . They have the pest at Callao (a mild kind of yellow fever) in which there is little fatality. We have had several cases on board. . . . The *St. Mary's* arrived this afternoon and we shall sail to-morrow. I am glad of it, we have been here two months and I am heartily tired of this place."

"VALPARAISO,
"*U. S. S.* '*St. Lawrence*,'
"*March 16, 1854.*

"We arrived here after a passage of twenty-two days. It was very fortunate we got away from Lima when we did, for the yellow fever has become quite virulent there. Some of our acquaintances have died of it, amongst others a very fine fellow, a Lieutenant of the English Navy."

"VALPARAISO, *April 1, 1854.*

"We have had around us until a few days past, three frigates, one English, one French and one Russian. As we were intimate with the officers, it was amusing to hear their different views and feelings with regard to matters now taking place in Europe :[1] the account that war was so imminent that the English and French ships sailed in order to cut off the mail and in case of war to pounce upon the Russian. But no declaration of war came, however ; the Russian, although awaiting the arrival of his consort, no doubt thought things too squally and went off to Asiatic Russia.

"I must confess the aspect is alarming in Europe. No doubt war is in full vigor before this and God alone can foresee its termination. The character, too, of this war is one which history records as never ceasing in its injurious results, a war of religion. A fearful crisis seems to be upon the world. Look at China, an empire standing 2200 years without change, now deluged with blood and the revolutionists carrying a cross upon their banners,[2] with protestant principles,—what but God's power could effect this! Our own country is not secure either ; corruption in morals, in the Government, the people every-

[1] Culminating in the Crimean War.

[2] Tai-ping Rebellion under the Christian Chinaman, Hung Seu-tseuen.

where forgetting the great Author of their happiness, forgetting blessings far greater than those promised the chosen people of God, everywhere ingratitude is manifest to Him. In Congress men rise up in hopes of getting the presidency and renew the negro or slavery war. I know not where the question will end, but it seems to me one of uncommon magnitude. Everything looks gloomy."

"COQUIMBO, *April 16, 1854.*

"We are here for the purpose of exercising, preparing for the inspection which precedes the laying up of vessels after arrival in the United States. This week being Holy Week and all business on shore suspended, we have paid respect to the custom of the country by not firing, but as soon as Mr. Judas Iscariot is hung, which will be to-morrow, we shall commence a grand function. . . .

"Our minister at Peru has been directed to demand of the Peruvian Government full indemnities for the injuries to our merchants at the Chincha Islands, and, in the event of their not acquiescing, the squadron is to act."

"CALLAO, *May 26, 1854.*

"The Chincha affair is still unsettled: the negotiation is changed to Washington—with small prospect of termination. . . . .

"The other day the combined English and French squadrons got under way. It was a beautiful sight to see them forming lines. They were in pursuit of two Russian frigates which had sailed for Honolulu. We fired salutes in honor of Her Britannic Majesty on Victoria's birthday, May 25th."

"CALLAO, *June 11, 1854.*

"Your letter with accounts of home made me homesick. It requires great self denial to be away from you all. I have missed my profession, I am not fit to remain away. There are many who like this life, but I cannot believe that anyone who is of a domestic turn of mind can receive pleasure away from those he loves. . . ."

The *St. Lawrence* remained at Callao through the summer of 1854, then went to Valparaiso.

"VALPARAISO, *Feb. 7, 1855.*

"To our great surprise, February 2d the *Independence* hove in sight. Great was our rejoicing. It was impossible to keep the men quiet, so great was the excitement after such long delay. We have now transferred the squadron. We sail to-morrow which will be a day of cheering to us all. I cannot write much but you can appreciate my feelings after this long absence to which I have been compelled to submit."

"OFF CAPE HENRY LIGHT HOUSE,
"*April 18, 1855.*

"After a passage of just seventy days, we have arrived and have a pilot on board. I shall despatch these few lines at once.

"A few days must elapse before money can arrive, the men be paid off and other usual matters for placing a ship out of commission. Then you may look for me at home. . . ."

The whole of this long, tedious cruise, from December, 1851, to April, 1855, rendered naval life excessively distasteful to Winslow. Looking forward to his return home, he wrote:

"No life for hardship and toil, requiring a greater exercise of Christian virtue, exists than that of a sailor. Aside from the exposure to weather of every rigor, it is one in which you are cut off from friends and home, and no man who has not experienced the harassing effects of what is called discipline can for a moment conceive of its wearisome influence."

He was detached from the *St. Lawrence* at Norfolk, Va., April 21, 1855, and granted three months' leave, but on the 2d of May was placed in charge of the Recruiting Rendezvous, Boston. On the 14th of the following September he was commissioned a Commander. For five years he remained ashore in the city of his adoption, enjoying the quiet happiness of domestic life, yet feeling, with

every other thoughtful man of his time, an ever increasing anxiety over the gathering clouds of civil war. On the 20th of December, 1860, he was appointed Inspector of the 2d Light House District, with his headquarters in Boston.

CHAPTER IX.

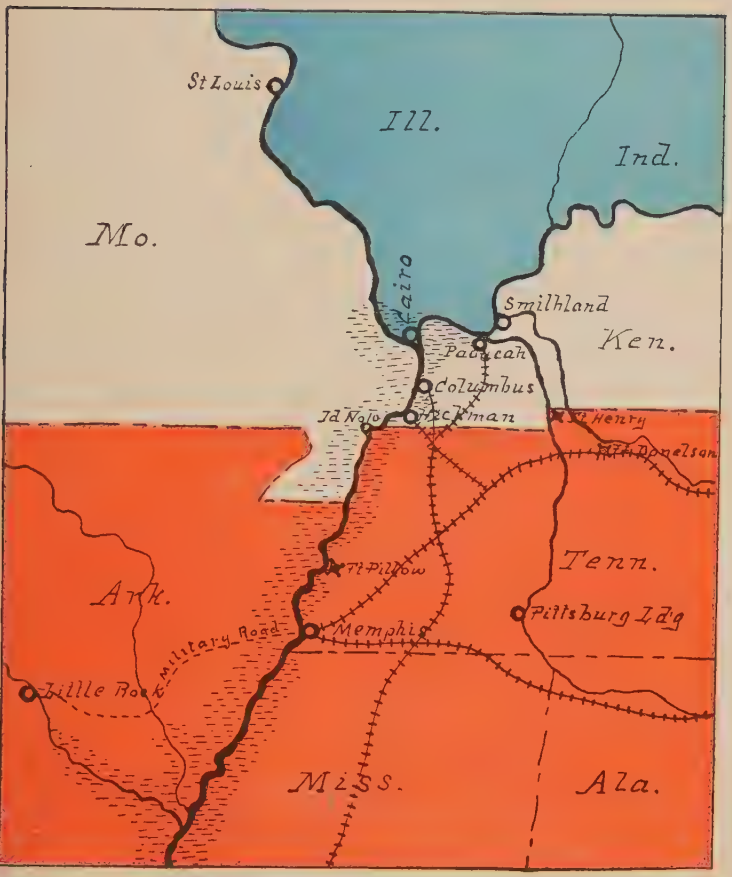
DUTY WITH THE WESTERN FLOTILLA.

WHEN the Government at Washington had fully realized the scope of the Southern Rebellion, the strategic importance of controlling the waters of the Mississippi became evident. Passing through the midst of the States in rebellion, with tributary waters reaching through them on either side, the system formed, in those days of imperfect communications, the chief means of intercourse between the western and eastern portions of the rebellious territory. Furthermore, so long as the river was held by the Confederates, the loyal States lying upon it and its tributaries farther north were in a state of commercial blockade. Operations to open and control the river were therefore begun both from the Gulf of Mexico and from the rivers north of the Confederacy. For the latter operations, river gunboats of special design had to be built and equipped in cities safely located on tributary waters in loyal territory, and assembled at some good strategic base near the enemy's frontier. Going northward from the Confederate line, it is seen that St. Louis on the

Mississippi and Cincinnati on the Ohio are the first cities with adequate resources. Returning then toward the enemy's frontier, looking for a strategic situation for a base of operations, the eye is almost immediately struck with the position of Cairo. Here the loyal State of Illinois projects down like a wedge between the doubtful border States of Kentucky and Missouri, and at the point of the wedge stands Cairo, its flanks protected by the two rivers of supply, the Ohio and Mississippi, which join in front of it.

In May, 1861, the nucleus of the Western Flotilla was formed by the purchase of three river steamers at Cincinnati by Commander John Rodgers, and their conversion into gunboats. The flotilla was to be commanded by him and manned by the navy, but was to be under the control of the General commanding the Department, who was at that time Major-General Frémont. In August a contract was made with Mr. James B. Eads of St. Louis to build seven gunboats and deliver them at Cairo in October. Two other purchased vessels, the *Benton* and *Essex*, were added to the flotilla, and the construction of still more was begun.

At the beginning of September, Commander Rodgers was relieved by Captain A. H. Foote, and the latter immediately applied for Commander Winslow as his chief assistant in fitting out and organizing the flotilla. The latter had applied for duty afloat soon after the outbreak of the Rebellion, so, on September 10, 1861, he received orders to report to Captain Foote at St. Louis for special duty.



THEATRE OF OPERATIONS OF WESTERN FLOTILLA

"Buffalo, *Sept. 15, 1861,*
"*Sunday afternoon.*

"I left home almost unmanned. The thoughts of what might take place, the troublous times, . . . the large family dependent on me alone, was enough to take the manhood out of anyone of feeling. However, the feeling is soothed now to some extent; God never intends wholly to overwhelm one in the severe chastenings necessary for our subjection and I am thankful that He has raised me from the depression and given me hope that in the end I shall have peace."

"St. Louis, *Sept. 22, 1861.*

"All the Commanders have formed a military mess on board a large Mississippi steamboat with splendid accommodations. She has been hired for a receiving vessel.

"We are sent here to man the Flotilla for the Mississippi. Seven gunboats are building which are to be cased with iron of 2½ inches thickness. I send herewith an account from the newspapers of the experiments tried to ascertain whether they would resist shot; the experiments were satisfactory, proving balls had no effect on them.

"I see no chance of their being ready before the first week in November. The gunboats carry each fifteen guns, nine inch, and rifle guns twenty-four pounders. The wheel of the steamboat is in the centre of the vessel, protected from shot by the inclined sides which extend all around."

"St. Louis, *Sept. 29, 1861.*

"Foote has gone to Cairo to see about affairs there. He is under Fremont and receives orders from him. Fremont has gone up the river to try and whip Price out of Lexington. He has taken a sufficient number of men to do it effectually, but I do not know how it will turn out, for it almost seems as if the other party were having everything their own way.

"Foote is very much engaged, . . . everything is at sixes and sevens and nothing is prepared, and all our wants and materials are to be supplied from the East."

"St. Louis, *Oct. 3, 1861.*

"Since I last wrote you several changes have been made, and there is no knowing what a day may bring forth. Steadman has been relieved and ordered back again to New York to command the *Bienville*. Hazard has been ordered to Cincinnati to recruit men for the expedition and I have received orders to proceed to Cairo, hire a steamboat and take all the stores on board for the expedition, principally ordnance. There is no knowing how long Fremont will be in the North and when the expedition will get off."

"St. Louis, *Oct. 8, 1861.*

"Foote is down at Cairo—went yesterday. Porter has gone down in a steamer which looks like a tortoise. He will be pitching-in the first opportunity he gets. I see great reports in your Boston papers of the war here. We hear nothing of it. In fact, it seems to me a sort of guerilla warfare, of the secessionists marching upon some weak place, and then abandoning it again."

"Cincinnati, *Oct. 14, 1861.*

"I received to-day a message from the Commanding General of this division that he wanted to see me. The General is Mitchell, the great astronomer, a very pleasant man and I told him I would rather he would talk of the stars than the war. He wanted my opinion in writing of the advantages of gunboats on the Ohio.

"I would not be so anxious. You may depend upon it there is no danger or anything like the appearance of it when viewed in prospective. Hope on and trust in God."

"Cincinnati, *Oct. 16, 1861.*

"I wrote a strong letter for General Mitchell, as he desired, for which he thanked me very much and said he would urge upon the Government their adoption and should like my superintendence of them if he could get it from the War Department. I do not believe they will succeed in getting the gunboats, as too much money has been spent already."

Winslow now spent ten days in Cleveland recruiting men for the flotilla. His wife was with

him while there. It was a pleasant break in the fever of war work. He then returned to St. Louis.

"St. Louis, *Oct. 27, 1861.*

"I went down the day after you left me to see the gunboats, which are in the form I sent you a sketch of. We were ordered here in such haste by request of General Fremont. Our business is to go down the river and open it free of batteries. An army of sixty thousand men will go with us. I suppose they take the shore line, when any attacks are made.

"General Fremont has gone North with the army to try to recover lost ground which Price is in possession of at Lexington. Foote has just come up from Cairo where he went to see about some gunboats they have there. Rodgers went up to-day in a gunboat, for the purpose of assisting Fremont in his expedition up the river.

"Our gunboats are heavy, some fifteen or sixteen guns, 8 inch, and 9 inch, and 42 pound rifle guns, but it is doubtful whether we can get down the river, on account of the draft of water, without first taking out the guns."

When the gunboats were finished, Winslow, by Captain Foote's orders, gave the little flotilla a trial trip in squadron, which proved highly satisfactory. The flotilla was then temporarily divided for convenience, and Winslow took the first section to the base at Cairo where he placed them under General Grant's care and returned to St. Louis for the remainder. With this second section was the *Benton*, a much larger and stronger vessel than the others, having been originally constructed to remove snags from the rivers, but she was weak in motive power. Because of her heavier battery and protection she had been selected for the flagship.

In conducting the several sections Winslow took personal command of the *Benton* and was accompanied by Mr. Eads, the builder of the gunboats. The *Benton* grounded, as had been feared, on a trip down, and Winslow received a severe and incapacitating wound in the left arm by the parting of a cable used in getting her off. Mr. Eads's account of the accident, published in the *Century Magazine*, January, 1885, is as follows:

". . . I was requested by Admiral Foote, as a special favor to him, to accompany the *Benton*, the eighth one of the fleet, in her passage down to Cairo. It was in December, and the water was falling rapidly. . . . .

"The wish of Admiral Foote to have me see this boat safely to Cairo was prompted by his knowledge that I had experience in the management of steamboats upon the river, and his fear that she would be detained by grounding. Ice had just begun to float in the Mississippi when the *Benton* put out from my shipyard at Carondelet for the south. Some thirty or forty miles below St. Louis she grounded. . . . An anchor was put out for the purpose of hauling her off. My advice was not asked with reference to this first proceeding, and although I had been requested by Admiral Foote to accompany the vessel, he had not instructed the captain, so far as I knew, to be guided by my advice in case of difficulty. After they had been working all night to get the boat afloat, she was harder on than ever; moreover, the water had fallen about six inches. I then volunteered the opinion to Capt. Winslow that if he would run hawsers ashore in a certain direction, directly opposite to that in which he had been trying to move the boat, she could be got off. He replied, very promptly: 'Mr. Eads, if you will undertake to get her off, I shall be very willing to place the entire crew under your direction.' I at once accepted the offer, and Lieutenant Bishop was called up and instructed to obey my directions. Several very large hawsers had been put on board of the boat for the fleet at

Cairo. One of the largest was got out and secured to a large tree on the shore, and as heavy a strain was put upon it as the cable would be likely to bear. As the water was still falling, I ordered out a second one, and a third, and a fourth, until five or six eleven-inch hawsers were heavily strained in the effort to drag the broad-bottomed vessel off the bar. There were three steam capstans on the bow of the vessel, and these were used in tightening the strain by luffs upon the hawsers. One of the hawsers was led through a snatch-block fastened by a large chain to a ringbolt in the side of the vessel. I was on the upper deck of the vessel near Captain Winslow when the chain which held this block broke. It was made of iron one and one-eighth inches in diameter, and the link separated into three pieces. The largest, being one-half of the link, was found on the shore at a distance of at least five hundred feet. Half of the remainder struck the iron plating on the bow of the boat, making an indentation half the thickness of one's finger in depth. The third piece struck Captain Winslow on the fleshy part of the arm, cutting through his coat and the muscles of his arm. The wound was a very painful one, but he bore it as might be expected. The iron had probably cut an inch and a half into the arm below the elbow. In the course of the day the *Benton* was floated and proceeded on her voyage down the river without further delay. . . . "

This occurred on Sunday, December 8th, and five days later the *Benton* reached Cairo, when her wounded commander was taken in charge by his son, Paymaster William Randolph Winslow, who thus informed his mother :

"CAIRO, *December 13, 1861.*

"DEAR MOTHER :

"Father arrived here to-day in the *Benton* about one P.M. He came over to the *Emerald* this afternoon. He received a very severe wound in his left arm just below the elbow, from the parting of a chain while aground in the *Benton* last Sunday. One of the pieces of a link of the broken chain flew

with such force as to go right through his arm, tearing out all the muscle ; the doctor put the muscle back and sewed up the wound though it was very jagged. . . . "

In pencil, on the back of his son's letter, Captain Winslow writes as follows :

"You see by this that not my right but my left arm is injured, a severe wound. I hope to be confined but a short time. The bolt cut my arm diagonally. I made no complaint, but when I was caught and several hands pressed the arteries, I told them to stop and let go, as I wanted to ascertain if the bone was broken. Loss of blood created great faintness. My services at present will be a sad loss to Foote. It was a great mercy that the bolt did not strike me on the body, as it would have made an end of me. Good bye. God bless you all, is the prayer of your affectionate husband. Love to the children."

His son writes again on December 15, 1861 :

"Father has suffered a great deal of pain yesterday and to-day. The doctor poultices his arm every two hours and I do everything I can for him, but he is very badly hurt. Father will not be able to do duty for some time. If he had not been wounded he would have had command of the *St. Louis*. Moving him from the *Benton* was very bad for him. Everybody is devoted and they all do all they can for him. He sends love and says his recovery will be very tedious. . . ."

As soon as he was able to travel, Winslow was ordered home to recuperate, and as soon as he had sufficiently recovered his strength he applied for orders, and on May 3, 1862, was ordered back to the Mississippi Flotilla. As he was now to become actively engaged in Mississippi River operations,

we must go back and briefly bring them up to date.

The Confederate reply to the preparations at Cairo was to cross into Kentucky and fortify the river bluffs at Columbus and Hickman. Bluffs suitable for land defences along the Mississippi were few and far apart, and the Confederates had promptly fortified all within their territory soon after war broke out. General Grant then occupied Paducah and Smithland, in Kentucky on the Ohio, to secure his river communications. Nothing further occurred in 1861 except an expedition down the river to Belmont, opposite Columbus. This General Grant had undertaken to prevent the Confederates from cutting off a force sent on reconnaissance into Missouri, and also to serve as a little practice in combined operations, and to season his troops under fire while waiting for the completion of the flotilla building at St. Louis.

By occupying Paducah and Smithland, where the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers emptied into the Ohio, General Grant had sufficiently secured his rear so long as he remained quiescent at the Cairo base, for he could readily reinforce them if they were attacked; but the Confederates held two strong positions farther up these rivers at Forts Henry and Donelson. When preparations for aggressive operations down the Mississippi were nearing completion, it became apparent to General Grant and Captain Foote that if they took Forts Henry and Donelson, and if then Grant's army advanced along the Tennessee River parallel to the Mississippi

while Foote went down the latter, the Confederate positions along the east bank, being encompassed front and rear, would be evacuated or surrendered. Accordingly, a combined expedition started for Fort Henry in the beginning of February, 1862, Flag Officer Foote proceeding up the Tennessee with four of his gunboats. The troops were delayed, and on the 6th the gunboats engaged and took the fort. The railroad bridge also was destroyed, and the river raided to the headwaters of navigation and cleared of all Confederate material. Fort Donelson was then invested, and it surrendered to General Grant on the 16th. Columbus, on the Mississippi, with its communications by rail now severed, and being out of touch with a supporting force, was evacuated, together with Hickman, in the beginning of March, the Confederates dropping down the river to Island No. 10. Operations against this position continued until the 7th of April, General Pope conducting the land work from the Missouri side of the river, while General Grant was working his way south along the line of the Tennessee. On that date the island fell, and the river was clear as far as Fort Pillow, while on the same date General Grant defeated the Confederates on the Tennessee at Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), due east of Memphis. The armies from Island No. 10 and Pittsburg Landing had been united near the latter place under General Halleck, and Foote's flotilla had taken a position before Fort Pillow, when Winslow rejoined on the 10th of May. On the previous day, Flag Officer Foote had temporarily

turned over the command to Captain Charles H. Davis and gone North to recuperate from wounds received at Donelson, but from which he never sufficiently recovered to resume his command.

At the other end of the river Farragut had passed the forts below New Orleans, and was off that city.

CHAPTER X.

RETURN TO DUTY ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

WINSLOW arrived at Fort Pillow in time to be aneye-witness of the attack on the flotilla by Confederate rams. From all accounts, this took place on the 10th of May, so the following letter describing it must have been misdated :

"Off Fort Pillow,
"*Saturday, May 9, 1862.*

"I reached here at early daylight this morning, and was waiting for a boat to go to the Flag Ship, when some six or seven of the enemy's boats rounded the Point and went after the gunboat, which was guarding the mortar boat in advance ; then commenced an action in which only about three boats participated in close action. I do not know why it was, but the other boats did not follow. I was making every effort to get on board the Flag Ship, going down to her in a skiff, when the enemy retreated, no doubt disabled. I thought the business was just commencing when it ceased. They balled and they battered, and the *Cincinnati* was run on shore, filled with water ; and the *Mound City* is not much better off. I think it was an expiring effort of the enemy, for they would not wait for all the fleet to get into action before they were off. Except at the mortar boat, which they first attacked, they fired nothing but musketry. I saw Foote last night half way to Cairo ; he is suffering. Poor Stembel[1] was totally uncovered, fool-

[1] Stembel commanded the *Cincinnati*. She was sent to Cairo for repairs.

ishly so, when he was hit by a sharpshooter in the same way that Charles Morris was at Tobasco. Stembel was a noble man, and his poor wife was in such fine spirits about him, just going to her home in Cincinnati when I left Cairo.

"I do not know, at present, what boat I may command, they are in such a turmoil. I will write you more soon. One of the enemy's vessels blew up and struck her flag — drifting down, and the others were disabled, as reports received say, and sunk below, before reaching Fort Pillow. There must have been great loss of life."

"St. Louis, *Saturday, May 17, 1862.*

"I was despatched up here for Rams, expecting to find them nearly ready, but they are just commencing to be built, so you may see the chances I have of getting away. Since I cannot hurry them, I must take things as easy as I can."

"St. Louis, *June 4, 1862.*

"I have just received a letter from Davis offering me command of the *Cincinnati*, which I have accepted, and therefore I expect to be in Cairo and in the *Cincinnati* this time next week. The enemy still hold the Mississippi, but I cannot think it will be long before they are compelled to give up all their positions and the river be opened.

"The prospect of passing the summer on the river is imminent, consequently the hot season is before us. I am glad of the change of duty, for St. Louis does not present those advantages for me as a shore station which the East would and I like the activity of the regular service when I am away from home. I do not want shore duty except with my family.

"The presentation of a flag to one of the Rams came off yesterday. A very handsome speech by Mr. Leighton of Cambridge was made in presenting it. He is Provost Marshal and was deputed by the ladies who made the flag."

On the 30th of May the Union armies, having advanced west from Pittsburg Landing, compelled the Confederate army to evacuate Corinth, thus

severing the eastern communications with Memphis and Fort Pillow. The latter was therefore evacuated on the 4th of June. On the 5th the flotilla moved down within two miles of Memphis. A battle was fought and won next day against the Confederate River Defence Fleet, and Memphis surrendered.

"MEMPHIS, *June 14, 1862.*

"I am now in command of the *Cincinnati* at this place, which is about as large as Cleveland ; it looks desolated—like Sunday, no shops open and everything wears a blue look. I presume the shop-keepers are afraid it may again fall into secession hands. It is astonishing what the reign of terror has been, which, even now, retains such power that the people are afraid to expose themselves freely.

"We shall not move from here until a sufficient army is left to hold the place against attack, although expeditions may be made. One left to-day for the White River. I sent for Randolph yesterday who came on board looking well and finely, is happy in his present position. The *Cincinnati* is not very well repaired from the ramming she had, and, in consequence, the magazine leaks and the powder has been taken out. The weather is warm but I manage well enough. I sleep out of my room with a mattress on four chairs, close up to a 32 pound gun. Davis seems a good friend to me but he is not the friend Foote is. Foote at the last account was not so well, but he wants to return here.

"A division of Halleck's troops came in yesterday and will hold the town, but I doubt if we move for some time yet."

"MEMPHIS, *June 17, 1862.*

"Long before this reaches you I shall be off up the White River and hope to be back again. You will have seen the telegram of the capture of a place on the White River by the Fleet, supported by a division of the Army. Singular, the accident occurred, which I attempted and used all exertions to obviate by protecting the boilers from shot. A shot went

through Kilty's vessel, the *Mound City*, blew up the boilers, killing and scalding horribly more men than a fight of a week's duration would have done. When I was wounded in the *Benton*, I was using all attempts to prevent this evil. I am now going to put the bulkheads up before I leave in the *Cincinnati*.

"I am ordered to command the expedition. We shall have the *Pittsburg*, the *St. Louis*, the *Conestoga* and two or three other boats. Our object is to try and communicate with General Curtis who commands the Army in Arkansas, and open a means to supply him with provisions, but the prospect is bad, as from what I learn the river has fallen, so there is not sufficient water to get up at present.

"I have just been on board of the Hospital Boat, such a sight I never witnessed. Poor Kilty, the (ex-) Commander of the expedition, is doing well though badly scalded. I do not know how many are killed and wounded. My little friend Brown [son of Rev. Dr. Brown of Cincinnati] whose position I obtained for him, is dead, and his brother, who was to have been R's clerk, is saved and went up this afternoon with the remains. As I was passing through the Hospital Boat, every one was cursing the Rebel Colonel, who, they said, had ordered the men to be shot as they were swimming to shore, and he ought to be hung for it.

"I was anxious to see the Colonel who was wounded and lying in a cot. I was directed to it. I saw a remarkably handsome man, with a fine head. I thought I recognized his countenance as I passed by. On my return he called, 'Captain Winslow.' I was astonished and asked, 'Who are you?' 'Mr. Fry,' he replied, 'an old ship mate of yours.' He was a midshipman in the *Missouri* with me. He said that reports had got about that he had ordered the fire on the men swimming,—it was not so. I knew him too well to believe that such an order could emanate from him, and I fully believed him, for he was a nice fellow. He said that God had visited the sins of the people upon them, and that he was heartily tired of the war. I told him he would be sent to Fort Warren, and he replied he had sailed from thereabouts. It seems, he commanded the port,

having sunk his gunboat and taken the guns on a bluff to defend the river. Singular, he commanded the *Ivy* which Frank chased in the *Water Witch*. He said Frank's shell were splashing all about him. He gave a most ridiculous account of the *Vincennes* and the other vessels at Hollins' fight[1]; said he never laughed so much in his life. He would not fire on the *Vincennes*, but was in hopes of popping the *Richmond*. He said that Hollins went down as a spree, more as a joke at the time, and afterwards would not continue the fight, but laid up along the bank of the river, while it went on, and afterwards wrote the most bombastic, foolish letter to the Confederate Government in which he praised himself and nobody else.

"I asked him about the river we are going up: he said he was sorry it was nothing but jungle, and I must keep close or the guerillas would shoot me, and he would not have me hurt for anything. I think if any guerillas are about, the last place they will be found will be in reach of our grape and canister. He said I could not go up at any time beyond Augusta, his vessel was ashore there a month ago, and the river had fallen so since we could not even reach there now. But it makes no difference we must try and do the best we can. I do not want you to feel anxious. I wish I had time to write you more fully but it is night, and I am preparing, giving various orders, etc. Poor Kilty said to me, 'You have had your turn, now ours has come.' Randolph no doubt writes you from Fort Pillow."

Colonel Fry subsequently commanded the unfortunate filibustering steamer *Virginius*, which was captured by the Spaniards and taken to Santiago de Cuba in 1874, where he and most of his crew were executed.

"Off the Mouth of the White River,
"Mississippi, *June 25, 1862.*

"I have just come down the White River with the expedition. The depth of water was not sufficient for us, and the river

[1] Oct. 13, 1861, when Captain Hollins stampeded the Federal fleet at the Head of the Passes by a night attack, but failed to follow up his advantage.

is falling fast so that we could not have got down had we remained longer. On the 22d instant we were attacked by guerillas just after I had read prayers on Sunday, and I was going on shore when they had the opportunity of firing at us —we lost two, killed.

"I took two gunboats the following day and three companies of soldiers and went round to Indian Bay in hopes of capturing some of them. We took three prisoners and while I was absent, they again attacked the boats that we left, without doing any damage. I have just ordered two iron clad boats up to Memphis with despatches and I expect to go up soon myself but I must remain with the *Lexington* to protect the soldiers who are in transports and awaiting a large expedition to go up to succor General Curtis in Arkansas, the river being too low for our gunboats to go up."

On the 17th of June, Flag Officer Foote had been relieved from command of the Western Flotilla at his own request on account of his illness, and on the 22d, Captain Davis was appointed Flag Officer. On the 29th, the latter, with a division of his command, went down the river, and joined Farragut above Vicksburg on July 1st, leaving Winslow in command of the division at Memphis. The river was now clear of all floating opposition except the ram *Arkansas*, which was destroyed a month later, but Vicksburg still held out for more than a year.

"*U. S. Gunboat 'St. Louis,'*
"MEMPHIS, *July 21, 1862.*

"General Sherman who is in command has seized all the freighting boats (which have just brought our mails) filled them with troops and sent them down the river. I suppose these are eventually to operate against Vicksburg. I am afraid some of our mail boats have been stopped. A masked battery was sprung on the last one which came up and she was

considerably damaged by shots, though no person was injured We have every day extravagant reports got up by the Secesh, but now that most of them have been put out of the city or ordered to take the oath, an end will be put to this business.

"I am without news from the lower fleet since I wrote you but I expect everything is tranquil as it is here. I think that McLellan's repulse has put a damper on movements all round, and there is an indisposition to undertake further operations until the hot season is over. The officers are all sick at Cairo — this river uses every one up. I do not see any end to the war. If the President does not emancipate the slaves and use energetic measures of confiscation, we might as well make peace at once for our armies support instead of harass the South."

"U. S. *Gunboat 'St. Louis,'*
"MEMPHIS, *July 22, 1862.*

"I am sick with intermittent fever . . . They have been very much chagrined in the Fleet by the Ram *Arkansas* passing the whole of them without destruction. There was a great loss of life on our side, more than in all the fighting passing and repassing Vicksburg. General Sherman is in command here. I have not seen him yet. I think a movement will soon be made by the army down the Mississippi and Vicksburg will no doubt fall; but the war seems as far as ever from ending.

"The heat is so intense here it is impossible to go on shore. We have a great deal of sickness in the Fleet, but nothing kills as the fire does, our firemen cannot stand it. Randolph is well, his position is a good one at Fort Pillow."

"MEMPHIS, *Aug. 5, 1862.*

"You will have heard of the abandoning Vicksburg and the Fleet coming to Helena which is some ninety miles below Memphis and is the headquarters of General Curtis' army. Davis passed here last night in company with General Curtis. The boat came alongside at 2 o'clock A.M. when I was aroused, but Davis was asleep and I did not see him. I do not know what he is going to Cairo for. I learn Curtis is on his way to Washington. I do not think any operations will be made

against Vicksburg until the weather is cooler and reinforcements of the troops are made from the 300,000 new levies asked for by the President. The Rebels are very active about here, endeavoring to cross the Mississippi with ammunition and stores for the Arkansas friends. I have sent down the *Mound City* to cut them off some fifty miles from here. It is a great misfortune that our people could not have seized upon Vicksburg at first, when few guns were mounted. There would have been less loss of life, but there is no army to operate and hence its abandonment. They are now emboldened and making great efforts to stop up the river at various points. We are now some two miles from Memphis doing the work of enclosing our boilers, so when we get in a fight we shall not be blown up.

"The luck which hung to Foote in all his operations seems to be deserting us now. Foote was never known to be unsuccessful. God in His mercy seems to have given him success through life. . . .

"I meet with the Generals of the army here frequently when on shore, my duty from position requiring frequent applications for support in their movements, and telegrams are received of the operations of the Enemy. This and other duties keep my mind and hands full.

"I send you a slip of the latest news of Randolph from the newspaper :

"'Guerillas at Fort Pillow.

"'Great excitement was caused yesterday among the citizens at Fort Pillow. News reached the U. S. Gunboat *Cairo*, now lying off the fort, that a party of guerillas were in force at Brownsville about forty miles back of the fort, destroying and burning all cotton in that vicinity. They captured several Union men and committed other depredations and were on their way to Fort Pillow. Captain Bryant dispatched Second Master James Moore, accompanied by Paymaster Winslow, with forty men to meet them, but fortunately for them they left at the shortest possible notice. Mr. Moore returned early in the morning after six hours' hot pursuit.'"

"MEMPHIS, *Aug. 9, 1862.*

"I send herewith a copy of my appointment as Captain.[1]

. . .

"The Rebels are about us everywhere in guerilla bands, but I do not apprehend any attack on the city. I captured day before yesterday a boat containing many new swords and three or four hundred caps, tassels, etc., all from Memphis. The capture led to the arrest of certain parties engaged here. The proof was positive and the gang have been incarcerated. The truth is, everybody with few exceptions sympathizes with the Rebels, and supplies are drawn from the North, which immediately go South. Davis and Curtis are still at Cairo telegraphing with Washington.

"I am not in good health; I have an affection of the ear, swollen inside and discharging. It first attacked me at the capture of Tampico and has frequently troubled me since. The number of diseases this river brings on is legion. Good bye, God bless and preserve you all in the times which are coming on this country. All looks dark as if God's visitation is upon us."

"MEMPHIS, *Sept. 4, 1862.*

"I was never more shocked than, in taking up a paper last night, to see the death of Frank Winslow[2] announced. Poor fellow, so anxious as he ever was about his family, to die so shortly after leaving them all. I thought if there was one place of more safety than another, it was the station to which he was ordered. His country has lost a brave officer and his friends a Christian gentleman.

"Davis got down in the *Eastport* a day or two since, after having been several times on shore and conveying some 4000 prisoners down to Vicksburg.

"I see the news—it is very rebellious. Until the slaves are manumitted we shall do nothing, then we shall go onward to fight God's battles and relieve thousands of His praying Christians.

"Young Tom Selfridge has just come out here. He is

[1] Appointed Captain, July 16, 1862.

[2] Commander Francis Winslow, a cousin.

ordered to command the *Cairo*, Randolph's ship, which is ordered to leave Fort Pillow and drop down to join the Fleet at Helena. We have daily reports that the Rebels are going to attack this place, but General Sherman says he can whip them all without assistance."

"MEMPHIS, *September 19, 1862.*

"Yesterday I was all day through the army lines examining everything worth seeing, with a Captain of the Russian Navy whom I met in the Pacific, in command of a Frigate. He was very grateful for attentions. He has been sent out by his Government to examine particularly iron-clad vessels, with the intention of obtaining all information respecting them before their introduction in the Russian Navy. He goes to Helena to examine the Rams, etc."

"MEMPHIS, *September 29, 1862.*

"Our gunboat is now named the *Baron de Kalb;* having one *St. Louis*[1] in the East they do not want another in the West. I have been long enough in the West and I do not care to remain here under the changes made."

[1] A sailing frigate, afterwards at Cadiz when Winslow commanded the *Kearsarge.*

CHAPTER XI.

DETACHMENT FROM WESTERN FLOTILLA.

WE have already seen that Winslow was originally assigned to the Western Flotilla at the request of Captain Foote. His return to that duty after recovering from his wound was due again to his cordial relations with that officer, as may be seen in the following letter:

"SIR: "ROXBURY, *April 10, 1862.*

"The capture of the enemy's floating battery, with one or two gunboats, in the Mississippi, has no doubt left an opening, without interference with the command of other officers. I respectfully request orders to report myself to Commodore Foote, for any duty he may assign me.

"I would beg leave to state, that on my detachment from the Western Flotilla, that Commodore Foote was pleased to express his sincere regrets that my injury was such as to require it; as on no officer had he depended so much for assistance, from ability and judgment.

"Having sufficiently recovered from my injury, I would be pleased to receive orders to this duty, or any other (in accordance with my previous application), which the Department may assign me to.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JNO. A. WINSLOW, Commander.

"HON. GIDEON WELLES,

"Secretary of the Navy,

"Washington."

His relations with Davis were less personal but officially cordial, and he remained content with his assignment as long as that officer commanded the flotilla, although his promotion to Captain towards the close of the period gave him rank out of proportion to his command. About the 1st of October, however, it became known that Davis was to be relieved from command of the flotilla and David D. Porter was to be advanced and assigned to it as flag officer. Porter was junior to Winslow, so that it became the latter's right and duty to request a new assignment commensurate with his rank. Another incident occurred at this time which seemed to make him dissatisfied and not a little disgusted with his command. It is fully set forth in the following letter, which seems, too, to have closed it.

"*Gunboat 'Baron de Kalb,'*
"MEMPHIS, *October 4, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I am in receipt under your frank, of a communication, addressed by a writer in this vessel, to the editor of the *Baltimore American.* The endeavor of the author seems to be to show that the late paymaster and myself were not faithful to our trusts. Had the author taken the same pains to show that I was nearly an abolitionist and a person who believed that Wendell Phillips was fifty years in advance of the age, he had come nearer the truth. The two allegations mentioned are, first, that on learning the news of Pope's being driven back to Arlington Heights, I had said 'I was glad of it, I wish they would bag old Abe'; this is true, so far as I recollect, but the eaves-dropping hearer is silent as to the context which followed, which was this, 'for until something is done to arouse the Government we shall have no fixed policy.' Secondly, that I had treated a rebel officer in transit for

exchange courteously, and before his departure had shown him all the weak points of the vessel. The first part of this is also true ; but the author was no doubt ignorant that the officer was a prisoner who had been captured at Donelson, and had fought the boat, and was acquainted from inspection of all her weak points before, and it was to remove his impressions of her weakness, that he was asked if he would like to look at her. The officer had learned that the *Mound City* had been blown up by plunging shot, and his inspection taught him that this vessel was proof against a similar catastrophe.

"By way of episode, I will state that on the completion of these boats, my attention was directed to remedying some of their many defects, in the most practicable manner, but my absence at home from a hurt received, prevented the consummation of this object. I had however before leaving, informed poor Kilty of the manner I had intended to protect the boilers, begging him to adopt the same method. His reply was, he would gladly adopt it, but it could not be done ; he was wrong, and from the blowing up of the *Mound City*, has to mourn this day his error. On my joining the *Cincinnati* I immediately set to work to carry out my views, and the boilers were fully protected before her departure for the White River, to which point I had orders for the command. The *Carondelet* next followed, and her escape from being blown up by the *Arkansas* is alone owing to this protection. Subsequently the remainder of these boats adopted the same mode. Having been ordered to the command of the *Memphis*, etc., just before the advent of the *Arkansas*, time was afforded, and this boat was more effectually protected than any of the others, and the rebel officer was permitted to examine her.

"As regards the views of the author on the loyalty of the late paymaster, he is equally at fault here. The paymaster was formerly a correspondent of *Chicago Tribune.* He was a black republican, who could suit their tastes at that period ; and at present his coat has received a deeper dye.

"My would-be loyalist has no doubt learned ere this, that one in power can be kind and considerate to the erring, and yet be true and unshaken in principle, or he has not availed

himself of those teachings, which I have so earnestly endeavored to inculcate upon the crew.

"One remark I will add, that when I was a boy, I learned an exposition by Horace of such discoveries, which is this, 'Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,' which Jack would translate: 'The fellow has fallen upon a mare's nest.'

"With apologies for this unusual epistle for me, I remain,

"Very truly yours &c.,

"J. A. WINSLOW.

"Hon. GUSTAVUS V. FOX,

"*Assistant Secretary of the Navy*,

"Washington."

Endorsement.

"C. C. FULTON,

"With compliments of G. V. Fox,

"Mr. Fulton will recollect the sailor's letter he sent me.

"F."

The following correspondence then ensued with the Navy Department:

"*Gunboat 'Baron de Kalb,'*
MEMPHIS, *Oct. 10, 1862.*

"SIR:

"The Department prior to ordering me to Western Flotilla was pleased to forward for my consideration a letter of Rear Admiral Foote.

"The conditions under which I accepted having been materially modified in the recent change of the Commander of the Flotilla fleet, I would respectfully request that the Department would assign me to other duty.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient serv't,

"J. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"The Hon'l

"GIDEON WELLES,

"*Secy of Navy*, Washtn., D. C."

Endorsement.

"The application contained in this letter, which, if unqualified, would be regarded as an act of insubordination, is forwarded with the following remark:

"The language of Captain Winslow implies that there is a special understanding with the Department: otherwise, I should recommend that the request be not complied with.

"C. H. DAVIS,
"*Actg. Rear Admiral,*
"Comdg. Miss. Squadron."

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,
"*Oct. 22, 1862.*

"Capt. JNO. A. WINSLOW, *U. S. Navy,*
"Cairo, Ills.

"SIR:

"Your letter of the 10th instant in which you state that 'the conditions under which I accepted having been materially modified in the recent change of the Commander of the Flotilla Fleet, I would respectfully request that the Department would assign me to other duty' has been received.

"You are hereby detached from the Mississippi Squadron and placed on Furlough.

"I am respectfully,
"GIDEON WELLES."

"CAIRO, ILL., *Nov. 1, 1862.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Department's letter placing me on furlough.

"It would appear that the Department seems to think that I have in some way reflected on them for placing a Junior Officer in command of the Flotilla. Of this the Department may feel assured, that I never questioned their judgment in the selection they have made: the law is full and ample, and the Department was the proper judge of who should be appointed, and I may say I do not know a better officer than Admiral Porter. But I beg leave to state that my relations

with Admiral Foote were of that character, on private grounds, that it was a pleasure to be with him, and I accepted his offer, made through the Department, when I knew I was only to command a gunboat of 340 tons. The appointment of Admiral Davis, or Porter, I conceive, under the circumstances, warranted me in asking for a better command, and I should have done so under the former, except for the charge of fickleness.

"I enclose a letter addressed to me by the officers of the *Baron de Kalb*, which as a testimonial to my character, I respectfully submit. My duty is to inform the Department that my residence is in Roxbury, Mass.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servt.,
"J. A. WINSLOW, *Capt.*

"The Hon. G. WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington."

"*U. S. Gunboat 'Baron de Kalb,'*
"MISSISSIPPI RIVER, *Oct. 31, 1862.*

"SIR:—It having come to our knowledge that you are detached from this vessel, and are soon to leave us for your home, we desire that you bear with you this testimonial of all the officers with whom you have been associated on board this boat.

"We feel indeed that no greater calamity could have befallen us than to part with you at this time. Your unexampled deportment, your kind and forbearing nature, in connection with your many Christian virtues, has so completely attached us to you, that we feel with deep regret the loss we are about to sustain; and our earnest wish is that you may soon again be back with us.

"In the meantime, while you are far away from us, we would have you bear in mind, in your leisure moments, that far out in the South West is a band of patriots, grouped together on board this boat, in social conversation, which will be often turned to wishing and praying for your health and happiness.

"Receive now our farewell, with the hope that our country could appreciate your worth as we know it.

"Yours, sincerely and truthfully,

"(Signed) "R. G. BALDWIN, *Pilot.*
"WM. C. UNDERWOOD, *Pilot.*
"JOHN WISE, *Asst. Surgeon.*
"ALEX. FRAZIER, *3rd Master.*
"JOHN N. JOHNSTON, *First Lieut.*
"WM. CARSWELL, *Chief Engineer.*
"THOMAS ACKERMAN, *1st Asst. Engineer.*
"B. SMITH, " " "
"W. WILCOXEN, " " "
"CHARLES KENDRICK, *2d Master.*
"R. C. MADILL, *4th Master.*
"WILLIAM A. MANN, *A. A. Paymaster.*

"To Capt. JOHN A. WINSLOW,
"*U. S. Gunboat 'Baron de Kalb.'*"

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,
"WASHINGTON, *November 5, 1862.*

"Captain JOHN A. WINSLOW, *U. S. Navy,*
"Roxbury, Mass.

"SIR:

"Your letter of the 1st instant, explanatory of your previous one requesting to be detached from the Mississippi Squadron has been received and which is satisfactory to the Department.

"You are hereby relieved from Furlough and you will regard yourself as waiting orders.

"I am respectfully,
"GIDEON WELLES."

CHAPTER XII.

ASSIGNMENT TO COMMAND THE *KEARSARGE*.

CAPTAIN WINSLOW reached home so saturated with malaria from the river swamps and weakened by overwork, and so much disturbed in mind and spirit by the method of his detachment, that he quickly succumbed to illness. A painful disease in his right eye, from which he finally lost its sight, now began to develop, while the sudden change of climate brought on neuralgia. He was confined to his bed when orders came, just a month after his arrival home, to take passage in the U. S. S. *Vanderbilt*, from New York for Fayal, to command the *Kearsarge*. His physician told him that he was unfit to travel and urged him to apply to be relieved of the orders, but he would not hear of it. On Sunday night, December 7th, he took train for New York, accompanied by his son, and at once sought his berth. It had snowed throughout the previous day and the high wind that followed had caused deep and dangerous drifts along the road. Two engines forced the train through until about four miles from Springfield, when they jumped the tracks, dragging the baggage, mail and express

cars with them. Captain Winslow was so ill that he did not leave his berth, but was content with his son's investigation of the accident.

The U. S. S. *Kearsarge* was then on her first cruise. She was a bark-rigged steam sloop of war of 1030 tons displacement, and had been launched at Portsmouth, N. H., on the 5th of October, 1861. On the 24th of January, 1862, she was put in commission at the Portsmouth Navy Yard by Captain Charles W. Pickering, who was ordered to command her. Captain Pickering's first orders were to join the Gulf Squadron, but they were almost immediately modified, and he was directed to proceed with the utmost despatch to Cadiz, Spain, in search of the Confederate cruiser *Sumter*, commanded by Captain Raphael Semmes. On the 5th of February the *Kearsarge* passed out of Portsmouth harbor, cheered and saluted from the forts at the entrance, and a month later she arrived at Gibraltar, where she found the *Sumter* blockaded by the U. S. S. *Tuscarora*. The surveillance of the *Sumter* continued through the spring and summer, when it was learned that she was to be abandoned as a Confederate cruiser, and orders were sent to Captain Pickering to proceed to his original destination in the Gulf of Mexico. These orders were quickly countermanded, however, for the Navy Department, having learned of the commissioning of the Confederate Cruiser *Alabama* and her first depredations in the Azores, sent the *Kearsarge* to search their neighborhood. She cruised about these islands during October until it became evi-

THE KEARSARGE OF 1864

dent that the *Alabama* had sought other fields; then she returned to Gibraltar, and went from there to Cadiz, about the end of the year, for necessary repairs. Through a dilatoriness on the part of Spanish dockyard employees, which seemed almost intentional, she was delayed there nearly four months, although Captain Pickering, who had learned that his relief was awaiting him in Fayal, did everything in his power to hasten the work. These months of waiting, while probably a benefit to Winslow's general health, were endured by him with much impatience.

"Astor House, New York,
"*Tues. Night, Dec. 9, 1862.*

"We sail to-morrow at 9 o'clock in the U. S. S. *Vanderbilt*. I have been busy making arrangements and am as ready as the short time will allow. The severe strain on my eye in going about so much has not improved it any, though I do not think it worse, and as soon as I get quiet on board ship, I have no doubt I shall mend rapidly. . . . we shall cruise slowly, looking about for the *Alabama* on our way out."

"Fayal, Western Islands,
"*Dec. 24, 1862.*

"After a pleasant passage of fourteen days, uninterrupted by encounters with the *Alabama*, we have dropped anchor in this port, and I have again met that courteous old gentleman, Mr. Dabney. I am sorry to say my eye continues to trouble me with much pain, especially at night, and my cold hangs on, with the lungs inflamed, which keeps me under the weather. It will take a month at least before I regain my usual health.

"We learn the *Kearsarge*, which we expected to find here, is in dry-dock at Cadiz repairing her screw. I know nothing of the future movements of this vessel or my own, which are dependent on our news from England.

"Our passage out (in the U. S. S. *Vanderbilt*) was zigzag,

under a low head of steam, hoping to hear of or fall in with the *Alabama*."

"FAYAL, *Dec. 30, 1862.*

"The Barque *Azor* belonging to Mr. Dabney has just arrived — twelve days from Boston — bringing papers up to the 17th. I see Burnside has crossed the Rappahannock, been defeated and again recrossed.—Sad news! also that the *Alabama* has turned up off Martinique, where she has been burning and laying waste shipping. The *Vanderbilt* will sail immediately for Martinique. We[1] remain here awaiting the arrival of the *Kearsarge*.

"I learn to-day that the *Alabama* has got out again, and is pursuing her roving mission of destruction.

"By a steamer, bound to Cadiz from Havana, which has just come in, I have written Pickering that despatches are here awaiting him to give up his ship. I am in hopes my eye will grow better under the genial influence of this delightful climate. The inflammation in it was so serious that time must elapse before its complete restoration. I am therefore thankful for the rest on shore."

"FAYAL, *Jan. 11, 1863.*

"On the 8th inst., the *Onward*, one of our cruisers, which sailed from Boston on the 6th of November in pursuit of the *Alabama*, arrived from Madeira. She has been despatched to England by Captain Craven of the *Tuscarora* for information connected with sailing of vessels and supplies for the *Alabama*. Had I any definite information that the *Kearsarge* would be detained in Cadiz, I would proceed there with the other two officers in the *Onward*. But as I am daily expecting her here, since I have written Capt. Pickering, I think my best course is to remain here, lest we might cross each other's tracks. I am exceedingly weary and lonely and feel like one expatriated, away from home and all I hold dear. My eye is not so well and I have taken cold again. To-day I returned the Governor's call, the principal subject of conversation — the never ending war."

[1] Lieutenant-Commander Thornton accompanied Captain Winslow as his executive officer.

"FAYAL, AZORES, *Feb. 1, 1863.*

"I am still without any news of the *Kearsarge*, and am unable to say when we shall be released as prisoners from these Islands. It seems strange that the Department did not know more about the *Kearsarge* before we were ordered here. However, we have only to have patience, of which I am certain it requires no small amount. What I miss more than anything is a Protestant Church, but I have regularly held service for the family of the Hotel, none of the boarders but myself being present. Our news from the United States is up to the 20th of December, giving us details of the battle of Fredericksburg, which occurred six days after we left."

"FAYAL, AZORES, *March 14, 1863.*

"What do you think of our remaining here all winter? The *Kearsarge* has been in dock, repairing at Cadiz, long enough to have built a vessel in the United States, and I am not aware that she has yet got out.

"We hear the *Tuscarora* has gone to Cadiz to repair boilers. It is singular that neither of these vessels has been about these Islands. For the last fortnight, several suspicious steamers have been cruising about them, from which no information can be gained. You may judge our state of feeling, shut out from the world in this small Island, with only occasional news from some transient vessel passing. It needs all one's philosophy to bear patiently this exile. Again I am in need of an oculist for my eye, which has not improved at all since I left home, and although the sight, which was but a haze for the last year or two, has now departed, still the eye remains inflamed and pains me more or less constantly, and I therefore need the advice of a skilful oculist which is not to be had here. The Department no doubt have felt their error in ordering us here, which Pickering writes me must have been caused by their not receiving his letters, as he has informed them of the state of the *Kearsarge*. My chiefest sorrow is that the lost time could not have been spent at home, which Mr. Dabney says was necessary for my health.

"It is true, when I arrived here I was a mere shadow, for the disease which seized hold of my eye on the Mississippi

River only developed itself afterwards and affected my whole system. The cold which I took before I left home settled in my lungs, and hung on for six weeks after I arrived here, and I cannot foresee how long it will be before the inflammation leaves my eye.

"Our accounts from the United States brought up to the attack on the blockading squadron off Charleston and Galveston with poor William Renshaw's death and Mayhew Wainwright's, also the sinking of the *Hatteras* by the *Alabama*. The news from Vicksburg, etc.

"The *Alabama* endeavored to capture the *Azor*, remained waiting for her for some time, because her owner Mr. Dabney would not supply the *Alabama* with coal, consequently she will have no mercy shown her by any of the Confederate cruisers."

"FAYAL, *April 5, 1863.*

"Again I am compelled to write without informing you of the news of the *Kearsarge*. Some strange fatality attends that vessel, dozens of vessels have been repaired since we have been here, yet the *Kearsarge* occupies full time to repair them all. You can form little idea how dreadfully tired we are; and how slowly the time passes. It is literally an exile—nothing to do and nothing to relieve the ennui. I am utterly dispirited. A Portugese man-of-war has just arrived here with the news that the *Alabama* was at Flores, the most western of the islands, a fortnight ago. Thornton supposes the *Kearsarge* may have learnt of it and gone in pursuit, but I hardly expect this. At length the signal is up for a steamer, and *at last* the *Kearsarge* has come in, eleven days from Cadiz."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"FAYAL, *April 6, 1863.*

"I am now in my cabin all alone on board the *Kearsarge*. Pickering was relieved to-day and went on shore. I have orders to keep on the European Coast, touching at Madeira and the Azores, and for the next two months I shall be between the two last. I have been so sick for a day or two (the very time work commences) that I don't know when I have suffered more pain; yesterday I had pain in all my bones, and the neuralgia in my eye and face was excruciating.

"As the *Alabama* was reported to be off the Western Islands I go at once in pursuit of her.

"Sick again to-day, regular Mississippi chills on me—have just taken quinine."

The theatre of operations upon which Winslow now entered was a vast and perplexing one, but within it his judgment was supreme; in fact he scarcely got a single communication from the Navy Department until his long struggle was crowned with success. His cruising ground was thirteen hundred miles long. It was bounded on the east by the coasts of Europe and Africa and on the west by his discretion. He was to blockade, capture or destroy vessels fitted out as Confederate cruisers. Of these he knew two, the *Florida* and the *Alabama*, to be on the high seas when he took command of the *Kearsarge*, and that a third, the *Sumter*, had been laid up at Gibraltar. Others were being fitted out in British and French ports, but of these he knew little as yet; in fact one, the *Georgia*, was commissioned off Ushant at the very time he was assuming his command.

Three Confederate cruisers, then, were in commission. Of these the *Florida* and *Alabama* had been designed as warships, the latter especially to be as nearly self-sustaining on the high seas as it was possible to make her, while the *Georgia* was a converted merchant steamer, formerly the *Japan.* All had batteries throwing a broadside of about 250 lbs.

CHAPTER XIII.

CRUISING AROUND THE AZORES.

A STUDENT of the movements of the *Kearsarge* after Winslow assumed command soon discovers two distinct periods: one of search and one of blockade. The former lasted six months, during which the operations were confined to the southern half of the theatre assigned, cruising about the Azores and Madeira, with Cadiz and Gibraltar as bases of repair and supply. It was hopeless phantom-chasing, almost certain to be barren of results. The second period was longer, and the scene was shifted to the northern half of the theatre, with always a concrete object in view, —sometimes too many of them,—until a climax of success was reached. From beginning to end it was a gradual self-education to Winslow in an unusual problem of warfare. It was quite natural that his three-months' sojourn in Fayal, hearing incessant rumors of suspicious-looking steamers hovering around the islands and of munitions and stores landed, should have magnified the importance of that corner of his field. Could he have studied his theatre of operations at some place

removed from the influence of any portion of it, he would probably sooner have discovered that the Azores as a cruising ground had two serious drawbacks: their position was not central and they had no regular or quick means of communication with other points. Coming upon the scene as he did, however, we are quite prepared to see his plan of campaign outlined, as in the following letter:

"*U. S. Steamer 'Kearsarge,'*
"FAYAL, *April 8, 1863.*

"*Pr. Hortense*
to Boston.

"SIR,

"I have the honor to report that after a detention at this place of three months and a half, I have this day in obedience to the order of the Department relieved Capt. Pickering in command of this vessel.

"During my continuance at this place, and particularly within the last month, I have noted the appearance of several suspicious steamers, which without affording any information of their character have cruised from Island to Island, evidently in search of consorts. The last of these steamers, a new vessel under English colors and deeply laden, ran close into this harbor, dipping her flag three times; and then stood off to the South'd & East'd.

"More recently information has been received that a steamer answering in every particular to the description of the *Alabama* was seen off Flores on the 22d ult. This steamer when last seen after pursuing and speaking a barque supposed to be English stood to the Eastward.

"From these circumstances together with the establishment of late of coal depots at Terceira and St. Michael's by Southern sympathizers it may be inferred that the enemy and his abettors will seek these points for supplies during the summer months. I shall therefore, should causes of more importance not arise to justify a modification, cruise about

these Islands and Madeira, touching occasionally at Gibraltar and Cadiz.

"I have the honor to be
"Your very Obedient Servant,
"JOHN A. WINSLOW, Captain.

"To the
"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

As a matter of fact, the *Alabama* was burning vessels on the equator near the coast of Brazil, and the *Florida* was in the neighborhood of Barbadoes. Eventually, however, Winslow was cruising right athwart the path of the newly commissioned *Georgia*, bound for the same general locality. She passed through the Azores, undetected, about the middle of April.

"*U. S. S. Kearsarge*,'
"TERCEIRA, AZORES,
"*April 25, 1863.*

"Some fifteen days have elapsed since we first left Fayal, and I have been cruising about these Islands, stopping at one and the other. Some four days since we went into Fayal without anchoring, and after practising shooting our batteries, etc., went to sea again. I found the *St. Louis* at Fayal commanded by Commander Marin.[1] I have called on the civil Governor of this Island, a viscount, a young man of twenty-three; and the military Governor, a man of seventy-five, a Baron and Marechal of the Empire, covered with orders; from both I received the greatest courtesies. The people are remarkably hospitable, they gave us a ball, at which I hardly expected to be present, for about half past one in the afternoon a steamer hove in sight, off the Island, answering in appearance to the *Alabama*. She was hull down and sailing and steaming fast. In seventeen minutes our boats were all in,

[1] Commander George Henry Preble subsequently relieved Marin.

anchor up, and we were after her, the heights covered with people to see our movements, we chased her nearly seven hours at the rate of twelve knots and over. At dark we were within three miles of her, having gained upon her about eight knots, but night coming on we lost her. It was not the *Alabama* or *Ovieto*.[1] She showed English colors, and I think she was a West India mail steamer."

The ship chased may have been the *Georgia*.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"FAYAL, *April 27, 1863*.

"From the English Mail Steamer at Terceira, I got some English illustrated newspapers, and saw accounts of the confiscation of two more *Alabamas*, built for the Confederates by the English Government. I was glad to see some steps taken, however late it was. I see that Farragut's fleet has joined the Mississippi Flotilla, and that the *Mississippi* Steamer, Capt. Melancthon Smith, had been sunk by the batteries — but the details of news are very meagre. Charleston had not been attacked, and Banks was in the rear of Port Hudson.

"I have been cruising round these Islands for a fortnight, so after coaling I shall leave for Madeira, and thence to Gibraltar and Cadiz.

"Mr. Dabney handed me a letter from the Consul at Liverpool, just received by the English steamer, with accounts that several vessels are fitting out, supposed to be privateers, among them the *Sumter*.

"When I left here I had a regular attack of intermittent fever, which was nothing more than the malaria of the Mississippi still remaining in my system. My eye does not improve, although I have been under treatment for it from several doctors—and though I have been at times so reduced from the action of medicine and abstinence, yet the inflammation does not seem to decrease, and I look now like some old, blind horse—a deep red and purple color around the iris—and the suffering intense. . . . I shall go to Cadiz (for provisions) via Gibraltar, and after stopping at Madeira, etc., probably

[1] *Florida*.

return here. But should I receive any information of the Confederate cruisers, after I get to Cadiz, I shall follow them either in the Mediterranean or along the European Coast, but I shall keep clear of English ports, as (by the orders of the Ministry) we cannot remain in any one of them longer than twenty-four hours. On entering an English port, we are immediately waited on by the Naval Officer with the proclamation of the Queen, warning us to quit after twenty-four hours, unless repairs are required, when orders are given to hasten them, and to be off as soon as completed. This is English neutrality for *belligerents*. *The Confederates manage to remain as long as they choose.*

"Our countrymen are in total ignorance of the treatment American men-of-war meet with in English ports, and President Lincoln should forbid our ports to English vessels of war, except under the same conditions. John Quincy Adams would have acted at once with a proclamation meeting the case.

"On entering the Bay of Gibraltar, I shall proceed over to the Spanish side, lying at Algeciras.

"I continue my old practice of reading prayers to the crew on Sundays; and addressing them afterwards in explanation. They seem always to look forward to Sundays with interest, assembling themselves without being ordered. They have never heard prayers on the *Kearsarge* before. I have extended to them all privileges, shown them an activity and given them a confidence in my movements and character, which they know will be exhibited in the hour of requisition. There is a minstrel party on board and I believe they are to have an entertainment on shore. An application was made to me to that effect, and I consented that the trial might be made—a repetition of which would depend on their conduct.

"The *St. Louis*, Commander Marin, sailed yesterday, I told him to go off Terceira and St. Michael's."

"Rebeira, Quante Islands,
"St. Michael's, *May 14, 1863.*

"We remained ten days, after the regular mail steamer left (a fortnight ago), at Fayal, where we were employed putting

on a cuirass, or rather plating our vessel for some thirty feet each side, to protect our machinery. This plating consists of our heavy chains, suspended close together, which are hung to the sides of the vessel, and makes a complete armor for protection against shot, etc. As soon as this was completed, we sailed, cruising to the northward, and going into Terceira, I learned that the very day after we had left that island two blockade runners, the *Sirius* and *Orion*, side-wheel steamers had come in, coaled and sailed for Nassau. It was a disappointment to know we had been cruising about, stopped into Terceira three times before and the rogues had come in just after our departure. However, we had no time to consider, and after twelve hours delay we left for Point Delgada, the city of the St. Michael's Island. Early the next morning, I was aroused by the report that a steamer was in sight, I gave orders to get underway, and shortly after, an English man-of-war steamer came in. I thought I would speak him, but the fellow was so uncivil about our movements, I concluded not to do so or pay him any compliment, so, after wasting some five hours, I resolved not to come to anchor again, but came down to this place."

"Delgada, *May 15th.*

"Just arrived here, and news comes that steamers are off Terceira; I knew they were the *Kearsarge* and a Belgian steamer, which the people magnify into Confederates, but I must be off, lest my hypothesis be untrue, and consequently I have no time to write a longer letter. English news comes to us that the *Alabama* was to the South, March 25th, burning vessels, and also that the *Virginia* (another *Alabama*) was out. The news too of the failure of the ironclads at Charleston has reached us;—the news altogether unsatisfactory—so that the war must be prolonged. I shall now sail for Terceira and Fayal, and if the reports prove untrue, which I almost know them to be, I shall leave immediately for Madeira, and from there, after a day or two, if nothing occurs to prevent, sail for Gibraltar and Cadiz for provisions; we have now only fifteen days' supply on board."

"On my way to Gibraltar,
"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*',
"*May 26, 1863.*

"After closing out my last letter we went back to Terceira, examined all the harbors to the north, and found the report of the *Alabama* burning vessels, etc., 'a cock and bull story,' and that we were 'sold'; so bore up for Fayal for coal, and off again for Madeira, where we arrived four days after—found no *Alabama*, no blockade runner had been in for five weeks, and after four days we left again on our present road to Cadiz, via Gibraltar, to get something to eat, for we provision there.

"Nothing can be more beautiful than cruising in these latitudes during these present months. The stormy winter has passed away, and whenever you approach land, a beautiful country opens to view with fine picturesque and mountainous scenery."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*',
"Algeciras (opposite Gibraltar),
"*May 27, 1863.*

"We have just entered the Straits of Gibraltar, after steaming most of the day, twelve knots, we passed a French iron-clad frigate under steam, as if she had been at anchor.

"I have just got the news of the defeat of Hooker, and the terrible battle;—it has cast a sombre hue over everyone. What is to be the result? The English are in ecstasies. I see by the papers that the *Alabama* and *Florida* have made a junction, and are burning vessels off Pernambuco. To-morrow we leave for Cadiz, for provisions and a few repairs, which a steamer is always wanting, when I shall again leave for the Islands. I can hear nothing of the *Virginia*, which got out of England some six weeks since. The English papers mention Captain Bullock, as having gone to the Clyde to take command of another *Alabama*, superior to the old one."

"Cadiz, *June 6, 1863.*

"We arrived here about six days ago,—came here for provisions—but as they put something on the bottom of the vessel which acts like manure on land, a fungus of seaweed has grown to such an extent as to impede her sailing. I am

therefore going to take the *Kearsarge* in dock for a day to scrape her, which will keep us here longer than I hoped. I have no orders from the Department. I got some letters from our consul at Liverpool, about vessels said to be privateers, but nothing that determined me to change the cruising ground from Madeira and Azores, etc."

On the 18th of June, at Cadiz, Winslow learned from English papers that the *Georgia* had been spoken near the equator a few weeks before.

"GIBRALTAR, *June 19, 1863.*

"I left Cadiz yesterday, arrived here this morning—by order of the English Minister I cannot stay here more than twenty-four hours, and I dont want to, but I must have money and small stores. I sail to-night for Madeira."

"TOWN, SANTA CRUZ,
"TENERIFFE, *July 1, 1863.*

"After leaving Gibraltar we arrived at Madeira in three days passage; I found there a small English steamer, which I judged might be a blockade runner; she got underway four hours after our arrival, and after she had got off the coast some four miles we got underway, stood after, overtook, and searched her; but there was nothing in her to condemn her, so we left her; and stood to the northward and eastward, where for a week I continued cruising and exercising the men, near a small island. We then again ran down for Madeira. The Consul came on board with a letter from our Consul at Teneriffe, Mr. Dabney, brother of the Fayal Dabney. He informed me that a privateer was down at Teneriffe, a sidewheel steamer, so although it was not in my cruising ground, I determined to run down at once, and left after three hours detention. In neither of the stops I made at Madeira did I have time to go on shore: I was not there longer than four hours either time. I left Madeira yesterday at two o'clock for Teneriffe—260 miles—and the land is in sight. I have had another attack of chills and fever, but am better, and my eye which was very much inflamed, looks better than it has done yet—but I have to take an immense quantity of

quinine, the only thing which my system improves under, and the eye grows better. The Doctor said at first, the disease of yours is malaria, and time and quinine are the only remedies. The vision of my right eye is gone.

"The Captain of an English frigate who took lunch with me yesterday on board, told me his friend Grattan was Consul at Teneriffe, begged me to call upon him for his sake, I promised I would, since he said he was the Boston Grattan, formerly consul there, so, I shall, to please one fine Englishman—I must do the English Officers the credit to say they are all liberal, and wish we would catch all the blockade runners.

"*2 o'clock p.m.* We have just arrived and find a privateer here. Astern of us is the English mail steamer, ready to start, by which I hope to send this letter. After remaining here a day or two, I leave for Madeira and the Azores, and in twelve days hope to be in Fayal, but there are a great many places to go first."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"TERCEIRA, *July 30, 1863.*

"An American schooner has just arrived, bringing news of the defeat of Lee's army, and the capture of Vicksburg. These accounts are cheering and I am glad to find some little hope beaming at last. On the 17th inst., a blockade runner, the *Juno*, came into Fayal for coal, but as she could get none sailed suddenly, and we followed her at once; but our anchor getting under us, and the journals getting hot, we could not catch her. She went into Angra ahead of us.

"Four days afterwards—after coaling, she again went to sea and we after her—this time we were all right; the *Kearsarge* going thirteen knots, she tried all she could to dodge us, going around the island and keeping close to land, knowing we could not fire at her, as she was in neutral waters. When she got to the northward of the island, she steamed off the land, and I then took possession of her and stood back towards Fayal, overhauling her cargo. After a day's examination, found nothing that I could condemn her for, and let her go.

"I learned afterwards they burned all their letters. The

English consuls are making a great fuss, but I dont care a penny. I have reported all the circumstances to the Secretary of the Navy.

"The *Juno* being a fourteen knot steamer, I was afraid she would escape and I slipt my chain here, to pursue her quickly. On our return, I find that they have cut our buoy-rope and we are detained dragging for the anchor.

"The Portugese here say that the English Consul is at the bottom of this; angry for our catching the *Juno*. When we left here, in pursuit of her, the hills were covered with people.

"The *Juno* brought late papers from England, and I saw that Foote was dead, and Dahlgren appointed in Du Pont's place.

"July 31st. We succeeded in getting our anchor and are now at Fayal. An English war steamer is here for coal, bound to England, and I shall send this letter by her."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"ANGRA, TERCEIRA,
"*Aug. 6, 1863.*

"Since I wrote you, four days since, we have been lying at Fayal overhauling things. I informed you of our chase and capture of the *Juno* and the disfavor we have grown into by the act. At Fayal an order was issued that no signals for vessels should be made, while we laid in port. We are going down to Terceira to put despatches on board the American vessel, which gave us the news of the fall of Vicksburg, etc.—she goes to Sidney, Nova Scotia.

"After this I am going to cruise among the islands. . . .

"Yesterday we got news from the United States to the 14th with accounts of the New York riot and dates to that time of Army movements. We are now under sail, going down to Terceira, no steam, it is blowing a gale. I was on a cruise, but I think I shall go in and lay at Angra until the wind subsides; only there are no harbors around these islands, and you have to get under the lee, if the wind chops round it brings in a terrible sea, and ships lay with several anchors ahead. I judge from appearances that the South are nearly exhausted, and the war cannot last much longer. I see they

were about attacking Charleston again. I hope they may succeed."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"FAYAL, *Aug 11, 1863.*

"I went down to Terceira, last week on a cruise, and placed letters for you and the Department on board a schooner, bound to Sidney, Nova Scotia. On my return to the westward it was blowing a gale, to avoid which we came into Fayal and found the *Hortense* just arrived with news of the capture of Port Hudson, the attack on Morris Island and other news which, in spite of mobs, is very favorable. I am only in hopes that the end of the war is approaching more rapidly than things warranted two months ago.

"We are going to sea to-night, cruise around the Islands; stop at St. Michael's, return here about the 29th, sail for Madeira and Cadiz, to arrive there about the 20th of September.

"The Portugese about these Islands, influenced by the English, are making a great ado about neutrality, because they find I *will* overtake and examine English steamers.

"We have the reputation here and at Madeira of being very fast and steamers arriving in any of the ports make every despatch to sail before we hear of them. Our ship continues a very happy one and I am satisfied that all on board will endorse the letter which was sent to me by the officers of the *Baron de Kalb.*

"My course on Sunday is always to read the service and address the attendants. This, with tact in ruling and making everyone comfortable, is imparting implicit confidence in me, in both officers and crew, of the pleasantest character (in the belief that I will do what can be done, as far as courage and ability are concerned)."

By this time Winslow was beginning to realize that, for his purposes, his cruising ground was ill chosen, and news of the appearance of the *Florida* in the Irish Channel quickened his determination to change it.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"FAYAL, *Aug. 27, 1863.*

"*By H. B. M., Gunboat 'Wrangle'*
to Eng.

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department that since the arrival of the *Kearsarge* on the 10th ult. I have continued active cruising about these Islands, without meeting any of the rebel privateers.

"The nearest approach of any of them, we have news of, being the *Florida*, which vessel, on the 15th July, was seven hundred miles South West of Fayal.

"I learn however that the privateers were well acquainted with our cruising grounds, and, it may be owing to this circumstance, that the Islands have not been revisited by them.

"Our provisions having been nearly consumed, I shall proceed in a few days (after the arrival of the Mail Steamer) to Cadiz, by way of Madeira, to replenish them.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"To the
"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

"*Per mail this day.*

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"FERROL, *Sept. 15, 1863.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report that on the arrival of the *Kearsarge* at Madeira, from the Western Islands, the 7th inst., information having been received of the appearance of the *Florida* in the Irish Channel, I immediately left for that destination. I regret however to inform the Department that a continual heavy wind from the north and eastward has retarded our passage, and compelled me to put into this port for coals.

"Our detention here will not be over twenty-four hours,

when I shall proceed with all despatch in hopes of falling in with the *Florida*, before advices of our movements have been received.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"To the
"Hon. Gideon Welles,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

CHAPTER XIV.

BLOCKADING THE *FLORIDA*.

I HAVE said that Winslow's choice of the Azores as his cruising ground was a strategic error. The Confederate cruisers were fitted out by agents in British and French ports. When they left these ports they were lost upon the trackless ocean, and finding them upon it could be only the rarest good luck. Since, however, they could not enter their country's ports, they were almost certain, in the long run, through some extreme need, to return to the agents who had despatched them. Only on that contingency could there be based any well-founded chance to intercept them. Moreover, any provision for meeting them in that way was equally good for intercepting others newly fitted out, while the locality watched would be in touch with the news channels of the world. It is true that more than one of the Confederate cruisers had visited the Azores in search of United States whalers, but self-preservation kept them continually seeking new fields, and they seldom revisited old ones.

It might be argued, on the other hand, that Winslow lost nothing by his stay among the

islands, and that he ran some chance of catching the *Georgia* as she passed them, but had he sailed at once for the English Channel after taking command, he would have stood just as good a chance of meeting her as she ran down, and he would have been on the scene when the *Florida* made her appearance.

Let us look now at a map of Western Europe, and study the problem that presented itself to Winslow when he arrived from the Azores. The conditions, all of which he soon learned from United States consuls and agents, were as follows:

Two rams and two corvettes were building at Bordeaux.

Two corvettes were building at Nantes.

Two rams were building at Liverpool.

The cruiser *Rappahannock* was fitting out in the Thames.

The *Florida* was repairing at Brest.

The *Alabama* and *Georgia* were at large, and must ultimately seek British or French ports, coming up, most likely, from the southwestward.

The *Kearsarge* must take some central position from which she can make the straightest and shortest possible dash at any one of her adversaries, and at the same time be near a coal pile and a repair base. Coal she could get from Cardiff by shipment in colliers, but Southern partisanship made it impossible for her to get adequate repairs in England or France, so a dock-yard, when needed, must be sought in Spain.

With these conditions, and the map before us, it

KEARSARGE'S THEATRE OF OPERATIONS

MONTAGUE

does not take long to find the key to the solution of the problem,—Brest. Winslow himself writes to Minister Dayton six weeks later: "You will perceive from (its) position, that Brest is the best point for intercepting Confederate vessels in the Channel; but it is necessary that I should be immediately informed of their departure, by Consular Agents." He had studied his problem, and had found the strategic key to its solution, but he still had before him many months of disheartening trials and bitter disappointments before he attained a decisive result.

Per mail from this place
the 19th day of Sept.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Sept. 18, 1863.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report the arrival of the *Kearsarge* at this port, after a passage of forty hours from Ferrol, Spain.

"Subsequent to my despatch from Ferrol to the Department, I received information that the *Florida* had put into Brest.

"This information determined my movements, and on reaching this port I found the *Florida* in dock undergoing repairs.

"The customary civilities having been extended, I waited upon the Admiral in command, with a view of ascertaining the state of feeling existing, as also the character in which the *Florida* was held.

"My reception was cordial, and the Admiral remarked that whatever his personal feelings were they could not be considered, that instructions had been given to accord to the *Florida* the rights of a belligerent, and as such the repairs necessary to equip her for sea service had been directed, but that no furniture of armament or munitions of war would be permitted. I was further notified that the established rule which must not be violated, was that no two vessels of belligerent parties could leave the port together, that one must precede the other twenty-four hours in advance before she could be followed.

"I enclose one or two slips cut from the Nord paper, published in Paris on the 15th inst. The Department will see a reference to claims made on the *Florida*, for forcibly putting prisoners of war on board two French merchant vessels, and the possible seizure of this vessel.

"Reference is also made to seventy-five men who left the *Florida*, for Cardiff, as also the possible appearance of the *Alabama* at Cherbourg.

"The report that the men left the *Florida* for some other vessel receives some strength from the fact that Captain Maffitt has been relieved in command, and has left Brest. The name of the new Commander I have not as yet learned.

"I would beg leave to call the attention of the Department to this port, which has evidently been selected by Captain Maffitt, from the difficulty of blockade. The entrance to the port is lined on either side with reefs of rocks which on the southern side extend fifteen miles seaward, and on the northern side a farther distance. On either side both north and south a channel runs close along the land; these with the main entrance making three passages of egress, all of which should be blockaded.

"From the information that has reached me, I judge that two weeks will elapse before the *Florida* can leave dock.

"I shall provision, and before she is ready to leave, take my station outside to intercept her. I have the honor to be

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"To the
"Hon. Gideon Welles,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"Off Brest, France,
"*Oct. 6, 1863.*

"Today we have news of the check of Rosecrans, which I was so sorry to learn; and the Confederate officers, we meet on shore, though there is no communication between us, appear

jubilant. We have to take all the care in the world to prevent our men and the *Florida's* meeting; one or two scuffles have taken place and stabbing followed. The *Florida's* men live on shore, and therefore seize the chance when a few of our men are about, to pounce upon them. I have communicated with the Government officials, and am convinced that the Admiral is trying to do what is best to procure neutrality. The *Florida* is alongside the quay near the basin now, but she may come out in a few days, and if her men do not respect neutrality, I will board her and burn her in port. If they can't keep their robbers in order, or the French Government do not, why the blame must be on their shoulders."

The following letter, pretty broadly hinting at the possible turn of events, probably gave a quietus to the misconduct of the *Florida's* crew:

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Sept. 27, 1863.*

"MONSIEUR LE COMTE:

"My duty involves upon me necessity of instituting a complaint against the crew of the *Florida*. This vessel, lying immediately near the landing, has been manned with a reckless set of men, whose sole object in joining her has been privateering and piracy, and such is the want of discipline that the crew either are permitted, or without permission, go on shore nightly and pursue their carousals.

"Last night a body of these men made an attack upon a small boat's crew belonging to the *Kearsarge*, when the crew of the *Kearsarge* boat, obeying the orders which had been strictly given, in no manner to offer, but to avoid all offenses, shoved their boat off from the landing and laid upon their oars.

"I was a witness myself, before knowing of any difficulty existing, of large stones thrown at the boat.

"This conduct by want of government of the *Florida's* men, you must know, Monsieur Le Comte, will lead to serious consequences, in which the neutrality may be violated, if steps are not taken by the authorities of the port to arrest proceedings

and place the crew of the *Florida* under such restrictions as will prevent a renewal of these offenses.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"To Monsieur Le Comte
de Gueydon,
"*Vis Admiral Prefet Maritime*
de l' Arrondissement."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"Brest, France,
"*Oct. 25, 1863.*

"The *Florida* will be repairing a month or more. I have no information from the Department. Many questions were raised upon points in the *Juno's* capture. The Department will not answer one, but goes on the rule—give no orders, take no responsibility. If the Commander of a vessel succeeds, all is well; if not, make him responsible. In fact, with the exception of a letter detaching Dr. R. today, I have not received a letter from the Navy Department since I joined the ship. I wrote earnestly to the Department for ships to blockade the three channels into Brest. Department wont reply. Our minister from Paris writes me that Mr. Seward informs him, the decision in the cabinet is '*No ships will be sent.*' Good bye *Florida!* They won't risk making the French Emperor angry.

"I had a letter from Monsieur Le Dru d'Huys, French minister of Foreign affairs, informing me 'the *Kearsarge* keeps steam on at all times for immediate pursuit of the *Florida.* It will not be permitted by France. Men from England will be allowed to join the *Florida.*' But *I* say, *men wont* if I get wind of their coming across. Somebody's to decide, and *I* am that somebody.

"In my opinion, only the French Emperor is opposed to us, but he is France.

"The Admiral in command is always very glad to see me, and as far as he is concerned is on our side, but he is cautious and does not commit himself.

"I would have gone to Paris to consult an oculist had it not been for the peculiar position I am placed in with the *Florida*."

On the 29th of October, Winslow received the following telegram:

"LISBON, *29th Oct., 1863.*

"To Captain WINSLOW,

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,' Brest:

"Cruiser *Georgia* has been continuing outrages near Teneriffe. Was seen by and boarded on Sunday last Liverpool steamer *Crarauga*, one hundred and fifty miles from here, steering northward and eastward in direction of British Channel.

"JAMES E. HARVEY, *U. S. Minister*."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"QUEENSTOWN, IRELAND,
"*Nov. 5, 1863.*

"You will be surprised to learn of our arrival here, but I got a telegram from the Minister at Lisbon, informing me that the *Georgia* (pirate) was on her way up the British Channel, when I immediately left in pursuit of her, but have heard nothing of her.

"In fact, we came out in a gale of wind, and have had nothing but a terrific one ever since we left. I shall leave again, day after tomorrow, for Brest, without I learn something definite about the *Georgia*. I have just returned from Cork. The people are almost all sècesh there. You don't know how the English officers are at me to get out of this port. The Queen's proclamation allows us only twenty-four hours, except for stress of weather, and it has been blowing a gale of tremendous violence for a week. The *Prince Consort* (Iron Clad) almost went down.

"Tomorrow I shall go to sea and return to Brest, although the *Georgia* has gone into Cherbourg."

CHAPTER XV.

THE QUEENSTOWN INCIDENT.

THE *Kearsarge* had now been six weeks at Brest. Agents and partisans of the Confederacy, on both sides of the Channel, found her a rankling thorn in their sides, and they were ready to resort to almost any strategem that would force her, even for a short time, to quit the neighborhood. This could not be done so long as she could coal, repair, and provision, even within the limitations of the proclamations of neutrality, in British or French ports. She was, therefore, closely watched for violations of neutrality and repeatedly charged with them. An incident that occurred during this visit to Queenstown was quickly seized upon by her enemies, and its misrepresentation strongly affected the treatment she afterward received in British ports. The whole correspondence is here given, for it tells the story without need of comment.

"FOREIGN OFFICE,
"*Nov. 30, 1863.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to call your attention to the following statement which has come to the knowledge of Her Majesty's

Government, respecting the shipment of British subjects on board the United States Ship of War *Kearsarge* when in the port of Queenstown for service in the Navy of the United States.

"It is reported that when the *Kearsarge* was at Queenstown early in this month, one of her officers, named James Haley, who had been a resident of Ringaskiddy about twenty years ago, and who, after serving on board Her Majesty's ship *Shamrock*, had entered into the service of the United States, went ashore for the purpose of visiting his sister at that place, and when there persuaded five persons, named John Sullivan, Edward Rylurne, Thomas Murphy, George Patterson, and Denis Leary to go to sea in the *Kearsarge*. These men are said to have been taken on board that vessel by one J. Dunn, a boatman of Ringaskiddy. Another person of the name of Michael Ahern, lately in the employment of Messrs. Scott of Queenstown, is also reported to have gone on board at the same time. None of these persons seem to have come on shore again, and they therefore must have sailed in the *Kearsarge* and have taken service in her as seamen.

"Her Majesty's Government have also been furnished with copies of affidavits made by Patrick Kennedy and Edward Lynch, both natives of Queenstown, who declare that they proceeded on board the *Kearsarge* to enter as seamen, but did not sail in her. Patrick Kennedy deposes that he underwent an inspection of the ship's doctor and that his name was registered, that he saw seven or eight other men from Ringaskiddy come on board, all Irishmen; one of them named Murphy; the names of the others he states himself not to know. He states that he was informed the pay would be twelve dollars a month. Kennedy, however, left the ship with the pilot, and returned to land. Kennedy also deposes that he saw on board the *Kearsarge*, Mr. Eastman, the American Consul at Queenstown, in conversation with one of the officers, and that Mr. Dawson, the agent of the Consul, was also on board.

"Edward Lynch's affidavit corroborates the assertions made

by Kennedy. He says that he went on board with two other Irishmen, Daniel O'Connell of Whitepoint, and John Connelly of Bishop's street, Queenstown; and that O'Connell and Connelly, having been passed by the doctor, were engaged as seamen together with three other men, all British subjects, whose names he did not know, he himself being rejected on account of his height. He declares that all those whom he saw thus engaged sailed in the vessel when she left Queenstown.

"I need not point out to you the importance of these statements, as proving a deliberate violation of the laws of this Country within one of its harbors by commissioned officers of the Navy of the United States.

"Before I say more, I wait to learn what you can allege in extenuation of such culpable conduct on the part of the United States Officers of the Navy and the United States Consul at Queenstown.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"RUSSELL."

"50 JERMYNE STREET, LONDON,

"*Dec. 3, 1863.*

"Commander J. A. WINSLOW,

"*U. S. Steam Sloop, 'Kearsarge.'*

"SIR:

"Enclosed please find an extract from the *Times* of this morning alleging the shipment of two British subjects on board the *Kearsarge* at Queenstown on or about the 2d ultimo. This act, I have to inform you confidentially, has been made the ground of complaint on the part of the British Government. In the temporary absence of Mr. Adams from the City and to save time, I beg to ask you to let Mr. Adams or myself know as soon as possible what are the precise facts in the case. Let your statement be based upon the enclosed extracts, if you please, and without reference to any action of the British Government of which you have no official information.

"In anticipation of an early reply—for the emergency cannot be met too soon—

"I have the honor to be
"Sir,
"Yours very respectfully,
"JOHN BIGELOW,
"*U. S. Consul at Paris.*"

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Dec. 11, 1863.*

"SIR:

"Your letter with enclosed memorandum is at hand. I have just returned from a cruise of reconnaissance up the Channel, and while off Cork, landed sixteen men who had secreted themselves on board the *Kearsarge* some time prior to her departure from Queenstown on the 5th ult.

"I learnt from the Consul at Queenstown of the seizure of this act by secession agents to make capital of, and left with him originals of the enclosed letters, which will afford you all information in the premises.

"I would beg leave to say that so far as my action is concerned in this case, I was so particular as even to send ashore an American seaman—Boston born—lest it might be said that I had not dealt faithfully.

"I should be pleased to receive your views on consideration of this subject, with any information relating. It is to be regretted that the daily papers could not publish the facts and disclose the plot of secession agents to prejudice the public mind.

"I have the honor to be,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW,
"*Captain.*

"HON. CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS,
Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.,
"London.
"or JOHN BIGELOW, Esq.,
"*U. S. Consul*, Paris."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"At Sea, *Dec. 7, 1863.*

"Sir:

"A party of men either by connivance of the crew or otherwise were concealed on board this vessel on the night of her departure from Queenstown, the 5th ult. These men I learn were in expectation of being enlisted in the service of the United States after the *Kearsarge* had proceeded to sea, but found their mistake.

"To have turned them ashore at Brest would have opened to them the temptation to enlist on board the *Florida*. I therefore determined to leave them at Queenstown as soon as it was practicable.

"You will please notify Admiral Jones that I informed him that no enlistment would be made at Queenstown.

"I have therefore sent on shore this party, that no charges of subterfuge may be alleged in the premises.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"E. G. Eastman, Esq.,
"*U. S. Consul.*"

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"Off Queenstown,
"*Dec. 7, 1863.*

"Sir:

"I have the honor to inform you that I came to off Queenstown for the purpose of landing sixteen refugees who had concealed themselves on board this ship prior to her departure from Queenstown on the 5th of November. I learn here that an attempt has been made to magnify this circumstance for purposes unfriendly to the United States.

"I have therefore given to the American Consul my certificate with a representation of the circumstances by the Executive officer of this ship, and I have directed the Consul to hand you a copy of the same.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"Rear Admiral
"Sir Lewis T. Jones,
"*Comdg. Her Majesty's Naval Forces,*
"*Coast of Ireland.*"

"I certify that the U. S. Steam Sloop *Kearsarge* arrived in Queenstown on the night of the 2nd of November, 1863, and that on the day following, I left the ship for Cork.

"On my return to Queenstown, accompanied by the American Consul, I called upon the Admiral in command, and in course of conversation reference was made to a paragraph in the papers, that the *Kearsarge* had come in for the purpose of enlisting men; when I informed the Admiral that I had received notice from the Executive officer of the *Kearsarge* that many persons had applied to be shipped, and in response, I had directed him to notify all persons that no enlistments would be made, and instructions were given in accordance.

"On the night of the 5th November while blowing heavy and thick weather we went to sea. On the following day, report was made to me that several men had been discovered on board; investigation shew that they had concealed themselves in the ship during the thick and rainy weather of the day and night previous, and disguised in this way had come out in the ship in hopes of enlistment in the service of the United States, after the ship got to sea.

"The *Kearsarge* was on important duty watching the *Florida* at Brest, and it was therefore impracticable to return the men to Queenstown immediately.

"I directed the men to be held at Brest, in apprehension if they now turned ashore, they would join the *Florida*, resolving as soon as the *Kearsarge* left Brest again to put them ashore at Cork.

"The *Kearsarge* left Brest again on the 5th of December, and in accordance with my resolution, I have this day the 7th of December sent sixteen men ashore in the Pilot boat, *Petrel*, with a list of their names as given to the American Consul.

"JOHN A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*"

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OFF QUEENSTOWN,
"*Dec. 7, 1863.*

"SIR:

"I beg leave to state in accordance with your request, that on or about the 3rd of November, 1863, several men from

Queenstown came on board of this ship as applicants for enlistment in the Naval service. In the absence of yourself and of any definite instructions in regard to such applications, I told the men that if they were physically qualified for enlistment, they might remain on board until your return, when you would decide. Upon your return, your instructions were not to enlist them. These men were accordingly sent out of the ship.

"Many applications of a similar nature were made, but their enlistment was in every case refused in accordance with your instructions.

"During the time we were at anchor, the ship was surrounded by boats filled with men desiring to enlist. Orders were given and executed not to allow them alongside. On the day of the 5th this was the case until after dark, and until the ship was underweigh.

"The ship went to sea on the evening of the 5th Novr. It was stormy and blowing hard.

"In accordance with the usual custom of the ship and with the necessities of the case (as I thought) before tripping the anchor all strangers were ordered out of the ship. The Master-at-arms, with the ship's corporal and others of the police force, executed the order, finding men stowed away in the hold, in the Carpenter's locker and elsewhere. These men were put out of the ship, in some cases by force. As soon as the ship was reported cleared, the anchor was tripped and the ship went to sea.

"On the next day several men were discovered who were strangers in the ship. These men, probably with the connivance of some of the crew, had been so securely concealed as to elude the vigilance of the police force. Upon receiving this information, you decided to land these men at Brest, whither you were bound.

"These men were sent out of the ship at Brest in accordance with this determination, but pleading destitution were returned and were permitted to remain on board until this morning, when they were returned to Queenstown by the Pilot boat *Petrel*.

"I would add that the names of these men, upon their

return to the ship while at Brest harbor, were placed upon the ship's books for the purpose of their support and comfort, they being otherwise entirely destitute.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JAMES S. THORNTON,
"*Lieut. Comdr. and Executive Officer.*

"Captain
"JNO. A. WINSLOW,
"*Commanding.*"

Extract from a letter from the United States Minister to England, December 16, 1863:

"I write merely to express my satisfaction on learning that you have promptly disavowed all intention of violating the neutrality of this kingdom. I had already taken measures to lay a copy of your note to Mr. Eastman of the 7th instant, before the British Government. This is all the notice that seems proper to be taken in Great Britain of the complaint. It is not expedient to have any recourse to the newspapers. Copies of all the papers have been transmitted for the consideration of the Government at home.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

"Comdr. J. A. WINSLOW,
"Brest."

The first part of this letter, which is lost, must have contained the remark that brought forth the two following replies from Winslow:

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Dec. 19, 1863.*

"SIR:

"Your letter of the 3rd inst. was answered with full commentaries on the subject, as requested by you, addressed to Mr. Adams.

"In reply Mr. Adams says he was not aware of having written me, as the ship I was in, being stationed in France, he could scarcely do so except through Mr. Dayton. I have written to disabuse his mind of the impression of our station, which extends all over the coast of Europe.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"John Bigelow, Esq.,
"*U. S. Consul*, Paris.
"(Forwarded to London.)"

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"Brest, France,
"*Dec. 19. 1863.*

"Sir:

"I have the honor to inform you that my letter of the 11th inst. was in response to a letter from Mr. Bigelow at London, in which he remarked that in the absence of Mr. Adams he had written to me; and requesting that my answer might be addressed to you or himself at London. I inferred therefore that the duties of the Legation had been committed to him until your return.

"I would beg leave to state that this ship is not stationed at any one point, the orders for her cruising embracing the whole coast of Europe, and any information you may deem of importance to the mercantile interest, and which comes within the duties of a cruiser of the United States to watch over, I I shall be extremely obliged to you if you will advise me of.

"I have the honor to be

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"Hon. Chas. F. Adams,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen.*
of the United States."

In due course of circumlocution, the following comes from the Navy Department:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,
"WASHINGTON, *Dec. 29, 1863.*

"SIR:

"The alleged violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act of Great Britain by the *Kearsarge*, by shipping British subjects at Queenstown for service in the U. S. Navy, has been made the subject of complaint by the Government of Great Britain. I transmit herewith a copy of a note addressed to Mr. Adams, on the 30th ult. by Earl Russell giving the statements that have come to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, respecting the matter. Your especial attention is invited to the note, and the Department directs that you will report to it without delay all the circumstances connected with the matter in question, with such explanations as the case may require.

"Very respectfully, etc.,
"GIDEON WELLES,
"*Sec'y of Navy.*

"Capt. J. A. WINSLOW,
"*Comdg. U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"Brest."

One would naturally suppose the incident now closed, but on the 6th of April, 1864, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Donoughmore referred to the case of the men who had been received into the United States ship of war, the *Kearsarge*, at Cork, and urged that the statement of the Captain, that he did not know of their being in the vessel, was contrary to the depositions of the men themselves.

Earl Russell said that he had called the attention of the American minister to this case, who informed him that instructions had been issued by the Government of the United States to the effect that any officer in its service who infringed the

Foreign Enlistment Act should be dismissed. Mr. Adams had also offered to refer the case of the *Kearsarge* to the executive at Washington, but he (Earl Russell) was not of opinion that either the American Consul or the Captain of the *Kearsarge* was culpable in this matter.

The Marquis of Clanricarde objected to allowing the *Kearsarge* to be repaired in one of Her Majesty's dockyards under the circumstances.

This debate drew from Winslow the following letter, which was published in British newspapers:

"THE REPORTED FEDERAL ENLISTMENTS AT QUEENSTOWN.

"We are requested to publish the following letter:

"To the Marquis of Clanricarde:

"My Lord,—

"My attention has in several instances been directed to the debates in Parliament, in which the United States sloop *Kearsarge* has been the subject matter. The remarks which your lordship is reported to have made in the debate of the 5th instant have led me to suppose that you were desirous of the truth.

"Now, there can be nothing easier than its attainment. There are on board the *Kearsarge* some one hundred and eighty persons—enough, one would suppose, to testify before a judicial court of the proceedings at Queenstown.

"Again, there is a log-book which records every occurrence of the day, all of which are open to examination.

"Now, my lord, if these means are used for revealing facts, you will find that the *Kearsarge* does not want men, that she has more than her complement, and that the frequent applications of the Consuls of the United States to send American seamen to her have all been met by a refusal. You will find

also that these men (almost in rags) who secreted themselves at Queenstown, were far from being such as would be accepted for a man-of-war. Again, you will find that they were entered upon the books of the *Kearsarge* at Brest, for the purpose of rationing and clothing them until they could be returned to Cork, for without the adoption of this course, the whole of the expenses would have been charged to the Captain. Again you will find that the crew of the *Kearsarge* subscribed a large sum rather than the clothes should be taken from them. And further, that many of the Royal Marines at Deal, and sailors at every port touched at in the United Kingdom have offered themselves in numbers, and all have been refused enlistment. All these facts are open to proof if it becomes necessary to show it. It is true, sir, that the executive had orders, before the captain left the ship at Queenstown, that four or five men could be taken, if any American seamen were found on the Consul's charge, and from this report the ship was besieged by hundreds of men for enlistment. But on arrival of the captain, orders were issued that no enlistments would be made, and the ship was cleared of strangers, and the reasons given for not taking any consular men were, that the captain had informed the English admiral that, in order that no ground of complaint could be made, even American seamen would not be enlisted.

"It is therefore, my lord, absurd to think that we were in want of the miserable trash that were secreted in the dark and stormy night we went to sea.

"In commenting upon this case I may be permitted to remark that the principle, so long established by Englishmen, that fair play should be given, seems lost sight of, and foul play substituted. I hope your lordship is not one who, however opposed to the Government, will lose sight of this great principle, which has been so redeeming a trait in the character of Englishmen.

"In adopting the unusual course of addressing this letter to you, which has been elicited by the remark published as having been made by you, 'Why should not the officers at once come to London and make such a statement of the real facts

as the American Minister would be prepared to vouch for?' I have thought it not inappropriate to publish the letter.

"I have, etc.,

"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"*United States Sloop 'Kearsarge,'*

"*April 6, 1864.*"

The irregularity of this communication was admitted, but that Winslow felt driven to it and that it was well timed seems to be indicated by the following extracts from his private letters:

"*April 26, 1864.*

"I have had a sharp correspondence with Mr. Adams, our Minister. He has sided with the English in everything. . . . The Americans are all mad with him."

"*May 15, 1864.*

"One of your letters, forwarded here, contains a notice of *Kearsarge* debate in Parliament, and I suppose ere this you have seen more about it. My letter to Earl Clanricarde placed matters in the right light and threw the tables on our side, for everyone was ashamed to make other attacks on us. I received from everyone the most unbounded civility — particularly from officers of the English Army and Navy."

"*June 13, 1864.*

"G—— wrote me about my letter to Clanricarde, but he, or anyone away from here, is not aware of the immense influence, which has been brought to bear to bring on war with the United States and England. The Tories have moved everything to effect it, with the hope of dividing the country and breaking down democracy."

The Clanricarde letter at once excited the ire of Minister Adams, who addressed Winslow on the subject as follows:

"My attention has been called to a publication in the Daily News of yesterday, of a paper purporting to be a letter

addressed by you to the Marquis of Clanricarde. A proceeding of this kind is wholly irregular, and, in my opinion, if practised, calculated to endanger the friendly relations between the United States and foreign nations. I am sorry to say that I feel it my duty to make a report of the subject to the Government.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

"Capt. J. A. WINSLOW,
"*Comdg. U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge.*'"

To this Winslow replied, April 10th:

". . . I regret to learn your views upon a letter published in the 'News' to the Marquis of Clanricarde. That gentleman propounded a question to the officers of this ship and the reply is hardly one that could give offence. On the contrary, I learn from English officers that the answer was one which was gratifying, as elucidating the case and highly complimentary to the English character on other points.

"It has not been my custom to reply to any observation made in the public prints on this ship, much less any reference made in Parliament, but the question so fairly submitted by Marquis Clanricarde for information from the officers of this ship, it would hardly be conceived exceptional to answer, though it was irregular.

"I have the honor to be
"Most respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen.*
of the United States."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ESCAPE OF THE *GEORGIA* AND *FLORIDA*.

"Wretched, wretched English Channel! I pity the poor mariner who frequents you in winter time, with awful gales and long, long nights."—RAPHAEL SEMMES.

THE *Kearsarge* was back in the harbor of Brest on the 8th of November. She now had another Confederate cruiser to watch, at Cherbourg, but the *Florida* was nearly ready for sea, while the *Georgia* would probably remain in port some time. There was thus some chance of engaging them *seriatim*, and Winslow stood on the alert to precede his first adversary to sea, keeping fully informed as to every detail of her preparations and those of the *Georgia* through Minister Dayton, the United States consuls, and a number of spies in Brest and Cherbourg. The *Florida* was handicapped by lack of men, and Winslow very vigorously, and with some success, combatted efforts to recruit them in France.

Realizing the extent of the repairs that had been permitted on the *Florida*, noting that the *Georgia* had sought a neighboring French port, and having heard that the *Alabama* was expected to do the same, Winslow determined to make a strong effort

to prevent such partisan liberality toward these last, and addressed the following letter to Minister Dayton:

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Novr. 24th, 1863.*

"SIR:

"The duty of watching the *Florida* here is irksome in character, and one that from personal reasons I could have wished had been unprotracted, but the cause of delay involves a question which to my my mind, affects so seriously the neutrality principle, that I have deemed it my duty to submit it for your consideration. The question to which I refer is—To what extent repairs can be made on a vessel of war in the ports of a nation at peace with both belligerents. By the English Queen's proclamation, United States and Confederate vessels of war will be prohibited from taking anything but provisions for subsistence of the crew, coals sufficient to carry them 'to the nearest port of their country, or to some nearer destination,' in case of stress of weather, necessary repairs; and vessels are required to sail in twenty-four hours after arrival, except when repairs are made, which shall be completed as soon as possible and the vessel ordered to depart.

"Now in the case of the *Florida* it cannot be argued that she entered the port of Brest to make the necessary repairs, caused from the violence of the sea. She steamed well when she was in the Channel, and had experienced no gale of wind. Since she has been at Brest, she has almost been converted into a new and changed vessel. Her machinery has been modified, heavy parts for this modification cast in Paris; instead of repairs of sails, a new and entire suit has been made for her; her battery also has been transformed, roomy large ports cut in the bow, and the guns fitted to work in them. Fighting bolts put in fore and aft where breechings were seized, and various other alterations.

"Now it appears to me if such modifications are valid and can be effected under the plea that repairs have been made, caused by stress of weather and the violence of the sea, there

can be no difference of admitting the Confederate sailing vessel *Tuscaloosa* into a port of France, building around her new sides and transforming her into a steamer.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Most respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"Wm. L. Dayton," etc.

Meantime the *Florida* was ready, and the government that had so liberally repaired her was called upon to prescribe rules by which she might elude her ever-vigilant adversary. Winslow was notified that if he preceded the *Florida* to sea he must remain outside the headlands of Ushant and the reefs to the southward, and that a French steamer, the *Ville de Lyon*, would accompany him to see the prescribed rules complied with. Thus, two channels were opened, to the south or to the north behind Ushant, for the *Florida* to slip through.

At this critical stage another Confederate cruiser appeared on the scene at Calais.

"Legation of the United States,

"Paris,

"*30th November, 1863.*

"Capt. Winslow,

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*

"Sir:

"I am directed by the Minister to send you the following copy of a letter just received from Mr. Bigelow, U. S. Consul at Paris, who is now in London.

"'London, *Nov. 28th, 1863.*

"'My dear Sir:

"'The *Rappahannock* was formerly the *Victor* of the R. N. She escaped from Sheerness on the night of 24th about 1

o'clock, without a clearance, her owners having discovered that her destination had leaked out and that she was likely to be seized the next day or at least complained of. I learn from Mr. Vendroux by last evening's mail that the Imperial Government has directed the authorities at Calais to let the ship sail when she pleases. Mr. Morse has evidence of all the circumstances connected with her fitting-out and escape which he is reducing to an affidavit to be made the basis of a representation to the British Government.

"'It is intended by the Confederates to arm and equip the *Rappahannock* at sea. Two vessels belonging to the Confederates, the *Aggripina* and the *Harriet Pinkney*, are to take out her equipment and to make the transfer at the Azores islands between the islands St. Michels and Formigas.

"'The *Aggripina* left London last Saturday and the *H. P.* on the 16th. Both are now at Plymouth.'

"The above information of the place of rendezvous is given to you in strict confidence.

"The following description may assist you in making out the *Rappahannock:* 'Boat hanging by davits on starboard—none on larboard—painted black with a small yellow streak.'

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"Wm. L. Dayton, Jr.,

"*Assist. Sec. of Leg.*"

We have now run a little ahead of private correspondence.

"*Kearsarge*, Brest,

"*Nov. 14, 1863.*

". . . I wrote you from Cork, I had a hard time there battling with the English Admiral, He is a 'Sir' and his wife a 'my Lady'; he invited me to dinner, but I could not go. It is singular, but in Brest, there is not that private house I have been in, no one has said 'Bean Soup' to me. *Florida* still here,—I don't know when she is going out, and if the *Georgia* remains at Cherbourg as long, I think we shall pass the winter here."

"*Kearsarge*, BREST,
"*Nov. 21, 1863.*

". . . I am still watching the *Florida*, and some of the *Georgia's* officers are here now. I shall sail as soon as I hear of her going out.

"Mr. Dayton writes from Paris—'The Department wont send any more vessels out, though I myself have urged it upon the Secretary of the Navy.'—'The Department is satisfied with your zeal, and have confidence in your judgment; where it is best to cruise or what you are to do, be your own judge.' *But I know this, if there is an error or complaint, then I am sure to get it.*"

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*November 28, 1863.*

". . . I see by the 'Advertiser,' you sent me, affairs look brighter. I am tired to death waiting here for the *Florida* — she wont sail, nor do I see any prospect of her doing so. I have been in constant communication with our Ministers abroad, and I have written them, that it is best for Mr. Seward to put a minister now in the ships of war, for the many questions which are to be debated.

"I have today a letter from Dudley, and one from London about more privateers. But if the war is more successful (for the North) it will end the play of the Rebel Sympathizers.

"Mr. Minister, from Lisbon wrote me my 'celerity and zeal called forth his thanks, and he had written to Mr. Seward to ask him to so inform the Secretary of the Navy.' "

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"BREST,
"*December 16th, 1863.*

". . . When I went to land in Cork, some fifteen men secreted themselves in this vessel, in the tremendous weather we had. The English all hate this ship, and took hold of this act to try and make something out of it.

"Lord John Russell sent the most foolish philippics, going off half cocked, and I suppose he now finds he was made a dupe of. This thing has cost me more writing than would fill a quire of paper.

"No person can form an idea, without having been in England, of the terrible strength of secession feeling. There is hardly a paper that will publish accounts of our victories, and one would suppose that the North is always whipped. For instance, the 'Times' says 'Bragg fell back, it is true, owing to difficulties, he lost *sixteen* guns' (not *sixty*, as our papers say). I went off Plymouth, but told them I would not go in, or they would manufacture some other sensational news about the *Kearsarge*. The *Georgia* and *Florida*, I believe, are now getting ready for a start. I expect momentarily a telegram about the *Georgia's* departure; I shall try to head her off, as she comes down the Channel. Report says she intends to join the *Florida*. If I get news of her early departure, I shall interfere with that movement. I am heartily tired of being here so long, never go out of port without its blowing terrifically.

"The Frenchmen have become more polite and attentive since I was here before, owing to General Grant's victories. I do hope there is now some prospect of the end.

"I think the *Kearsarge* will go home about May. She has a name here for expedition and strength, and withal, does credit to the country, keeping the rebels in port."

Meanwhile the *Florida* lingered at Brest, and on the first of December it was reported that the *Georgia* was ready for sea. Captain Winslow was repeatedly told by apprehensive sympathizers that the two cruisers probably contemplated a junction to engage the *Kearsarge*, but he would have welcomed this as great good luck. Then it began to be rumored that the *Rappahannock* was about to join forces with the other two for his annihilation, but he expressed himself as eager to accept even these odds in order to bring his adversaries to battle. As a matter of fact, the *Rappahannock* was without an armament, and the real purpose of

the Confederate agents was to effect a meeting between the *Georgia* and *Rappahannock*, in order to transfer the battery of the former to the latter; the *Georgia* having proved a failure on account of her small sail power and very limited coal endurance. The *Florida* was probably detained at Brest to engage the attention of the *Kearsarge* until the other two cruisers could effect this transfer. The *Rappahannock*, however, was badly tied up by diplomatic protest and correspondence. She was one of several British despatch-boats which had been sold at Sheerness. While she was fitting out there, it was irrefutably demonstrated to the British authorties that she was a Confederate cruiser. She therefore fled without clearance from Sheerness to avoid seizure, was commissioned by Confederate officers in the English Channel, and taken into Calais as a Confederate man-of-war in need of repairs. Although accorded hospitality, she was practically under detention while her legal status was being debated.

The inadequacy of a single ship to cope with the situation was now tryingly apparent. The U. S. S. *St. Louis*, a sailer, lying at Cadiz, was the only other Federal vessel in neighboring waters. Her cruising ground, carefully defined by the Navy Department, was from the Cape Verdes to Lisbon, and not a word in the instructions to her commander suggested co-operation with the *Kearsarge*. Winslow had learned, by carefully studying the problem in the light of experience, that the only sound plan for capturing or suppressing the Con-

federate cruisers was by concentration in the locality from which they issued, and to which, by force of circumstances, they would eventually return. This he tried repeatedly to impress upon the Navy Department, but with little success. Many cruisers were sent chasing hither and thither over the high seas after Confederate vessels, with only fortuitous chances of meeting them, and not a capture was made. If any two of them had been with the *Kearsarge*, the *Georgia* and *Florida* might have been captured.

So long as but one vessel was assigned to the locality, it was absolutely essential to any success that she should be kept coaled and victualled on her station. Instead of this, storeships were sent to Cadiz. Winslow solved the coal question more that once by coaling in open roadsteads in the vicinity of his blockade, from vessels sent from Cardiff, but it was exceedingly difficult either to husband or replenish his sea stores. He should have adopted a similar method of solving this difficulty, and this, too, he was destined to learn by experience.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Dec. 20th, 1863.*

"SIR:

"It is necessary to provision this ship, and supplies of beef, pork and tobacco cannot be obtained in Brest. I am therefore compelled to proceed to our depot at Cadiz, for this object. We could remain here for two or three weeks longer, but the expenditure of provisions would prevent our sailing for the Azores in case of need.

"As I learn that it is not probable that the *Georgia* will sail

from Cherbourg for two weeks, and the *Rappahannock* and *Florida* will be detained for a longer period, I judge this to be the most favorable time to leave.

"All information that will reach the rebels of our movements will be that we have left for a Channel cruise. I expect to be back in ten or twelve days, and if anything of importance transpires in the interim, I will be pleased to receive telegraphic information.

"I have the honor to be
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. WM. L. DAYTON,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.*

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Decr. 20th, 1863.*

"SIR:

"Information received at the moment of leaving has led me to change my intention, and I shall wait for further developments. Mr. Kinos informs me that the *Florida* has shipped a number of men and is on point of immediate departure. It was supposed that her machinery would require another examination, but I learn Comdr. Barney has determined to sail without further delay. As he has just returned from Paris, I am led to believe that an arrangement has been made by him and the Commanders of the other rebel vessels for a concert of movement.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. WM. L. DAYTON,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.*

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BREST, FRANCE,
"*Jan. 16th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department that the *Florida* came out into the roads on the 26th ult., making

every preparation for an early departure, as it was reported. In accordance with my advice to the Department to sail in advance of her, I left three days afterwards, and have continued until to-day, cruising about the mouth of the different entrances to this port, or seeking shelter in the bays of the Island of Oussaint.

"Yesterday by message sent to the American Consular Agent, I learnt that the trial trip of the *Florida* on the 8th inst. had been very unsatisfactory, and as a consequence, various modifications had been directed which would occupy a still longer period before she can be ready for service. I learnt also, that most of the officers had again been changed, Commander Barney had been relieved by Commander Morris.

"On receiving this information I determined to enter port, take a supply of water, as our condensers were a little out of order, and proceed immediately to Cadiz for provisions. I would state to the Department that neither beef, pork, tobacco, or some other articles of the rations can be procured here, and it is only by a frugal management that our supplies have lasted. The blockade has, however, exhausted all but twelve days' provision.

"I shall leave to-morrow for Cadiz, and return as soon as practicable.

"I have reason to think that the rebel cruisers will view our departure as again returning to blockade, or to reconnoitre in the Channel.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge,*'
"CADIZ, SPAIN,
"*February 4th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of copy of your letter to Mr. Dayton, affording information of the supposed

design of the Confederate cruisers, with other contents. Although preparation is essential, I am however, not disposed to endorse all the papers may say of what is to be done by rebel cruisers. First I know nothing of a challenge, and inasmuch as we had been for some time blockading Brest and our business is to intercept the *Florida* and other rebel cruisers, I can't see the necessity of printed bombast, when, at any moment they desire, a meeting with this ship can be had. Again in response to a communication of Consul Putnam in which he informed me of having seen a letter from a Lieutenant of the *Georgia* expressing the intention of rebels to combine for the capture of the *Kearsarge*, I stated to him that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of the *Georgia's* and *Florida's* junction if such intention was honest.

"Some repairs to the machinery of this vessel will detain us here longer than I anticipated and I cannot expect to arrive in Brest before the 18th inst.

"With many thanks to you for your information,

"I am, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"F. H. Morse, Esq.,

"*U. S. Consul,*

"London."

"P. S. Should we find on our return to Brest that the *Florida's* armament and crew have been increased, it would be no longer prudent to permit her to join the *Georgia.*"

Returning now to private letters :

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge,*'

"Brest, France,

"*Dec. 20th, 1863.*

". . . I am just on the point of sailing for Cadiz to get provisions, as we are out, and can get no Salt Beef, Pork, or Tobacco in France. I regret to go, lest the *Georgia* should come out, but I have left word we are on a cruise, and they will think we are again up the Channel. But we want sails, our old ones are worn out, and I wrote home in June for a new

set which were left in Portsmouth, and I am in hopes the Storeship at Cadiz has brought them. It is the best time for us to go, as from all I can learn none of the Confederate vessels will be out for a fortnight, and I hope to be back then.

"I suppose you will see in the papers a great row about the *Kearsarge* shipping men at Cork for which the Secesh in England have opened upon us — but they were hiders in the hold &c—and we took them back. It was astonishing, the ship was literally crowded up with men, requesting shipment, and so many of them stowed themselves away in the heavy gale at night, and went to sea with us. I see only a telegram in French papers that Longstreet has been repulsed by Burnside —and Lee has fallen back.

"I am plagued to death about the correspondence in which the Cork men have involved me.

"I hear Lord Russell has issued a proclamation, closing English ports to American and Confederate men-of-war. It will work badly for the "Confeds"—we don't want to use them. Today is Sunday, and I have had service as usual. They say the *Florida* is to be pulled to pieces again — I don't think she will go out of this Port before Spring—Barney is in Paris, and the officers don't seem to like again going out. I should think the 'Confeds' must be sick and tired of the war, and would see its hopelessness. . . . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge, Jan. 1st,*' *1864,*
"OFF BREST—*at night.*

". . . I wrote you about ten days ago as we were sailing for Cadiz—but as we were about leaving I learned the *Florida* would certainly come out in a few days, and go to sea immediately, so I was compelled to change our destination and wait. The *Florida* at last did come out in the roads, and from fear that she would get to sea before me, and we could not follow her for twenty-four hours, I sailed on the 21st ulto., and am hovering about the reefs, and small islets that form the mouth of the bays of Brest. The weather is tempestuous, and the sea tremendous. The North-West winds which blow over the Atlantic strike this point of Europe, which juts out and divides the wind, one part blowing in the Bay of Biscay,

and the other up the Channel, and bringing over the whole sweep of the sea—as I am now writing. I have taken a refuge (a poor one it is) behind the Island of Ushant—but the sea heaves round tremendously.

"There is a poor chance for us to catch the *Florida*—The current runs through the reefs at six miles an hour—and there are two channels inside of us, nearly twenty miles apart, either of which the *Florida* can take—They have been cunning enough to fill up with coke, which shows no smoke, and therefore at night they may come out easily and elude us. I am heartily tired, first at the almost impossibility of capturing her, and next at the tremendous hard service in the blockade. I have now a lookout on the Island of Ushant to inform me of events—while I was in Brest I would get telegrams from Cherbourg or Calais if the *Rappahannock* or *Georgia* sailed, and then sail myself to head them off coming down the Channel, now everything is changed, and they may get off without my knowledge—but one ship can't look out for three vessels, in different places—although Mr. Welles tells the merchants otherwise. I expect to go into Brest again, should I learn the *Florida* has got out, coal, to Cadiz for provisions and then return to this port or not, as circumstances warrant."

"Jan. 2d.—Last night we were at anchor under the Island of Ushant, and at twelve o'clock were driven off by a blow and high seas, and today we were in chase of two French Steamers, which turned out a useless job for us. I was going back to our old place near Ushant this morning, after an Englishman informed me the *Florida* was still in Brest, but hailing me again, he informed me that the Federal Steamer was in there also, she must have passed us in the blow—but I don't know if he were lying or not, however I will run in close to night and endeavor to ascertain or communicate with her. You must not expect any regularity in my letters, as it is all chance my having an opportunity to send them. I think of sending this in to-night, in hopes of getting letters and news, which I would like to inform you of, should they effect my movements—I am anxious to know what we are to do by the order of the Secretary of the Navy. . . ."

After the *Kearsarge* sailed for Cadiz, the French Government issued mandatory instructions to its port officials to compel Federal and Confederate vessels to leave port within twenty-four hours of the completion of necessary repairs. The additional repairs on the *Florida's* machinery were completed on the 9th of February. Her commander was peremptorily ordered by the Admiral of the Port of Brest to leave within twenty-four hours. There is nothing in the official correspondence between Lieutenant-Commander Morris and the Confederate agents, or in the log of the *Florida* at this time, to indicate that the absence of the *Kearsarge* from the blockade was known. On the contrary, Lieutenant-Commander Morris writes to Flag Officer Barron: "Under the circumstances it is of the greatest importance that I should leave before daylight." The *Florida* sailed from Brest at 2 A.M., February 10th, under cover not only of darkness but of thick, stormy weather. The *Georgia*, subjected to the same governmental pressure, left Cherbourg on the 16th.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"CADIZ, *Feb. 6, 1864.*

". . . We have already completed all our little repairs (steam-engines are always out of order), and shall return to Brest about the 11th inst. I have had several letters from our Consuls and Ministers about the preparations made by the Rebels for the Capture of the *Kearsarge*, but I think we can manage our own business. The 'London Times' comes out with a challenge for us, the first intimation I had, after getting to Cadiz. But I had written Mr. Putnam to announce that I would permit a juncture of the *Florida* and *Georgia*, if they would pledge themselves that they were honest. I have now

letters that show the rebels are offering large rewards ($150 apiece) for men to volunteer to attack the *Kearsarge*.

"Mr. Morse writes they have 150 more men in the *Florida*, and two new Steel Blakely guns, &c. Mr. Dayton says "be on your guard." I wrote back fudge! I believe however they are doing all they can, but I think we can look out for ourselves.

"I hear, at last Mr. Welles is going to send some vessels out here, it is about time. We have kept the rebels from burning vessels in the British Channel—but if they come out, and destroy property, Mr. Welles may have a hornet about his ears in the merchants. Singular that the whole Confederate Navy are to remain on the European Coast, without vessels to look after them. I see you have been having very cold weather at home; it must be trying for the Army. The appearance of things at home does not look promising. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"CADIZ, *Feb. 12, 1864.*

". . . Boston papers, received to-day, mention the sailing of the *Sacramento* on the 22ult, although she is coming here, she is not our relief. I am in hopes we shall get the *Florida* or something before our return home. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"BREST, *Feb'y 19, 1864.*

". . . We arrived here yesterday four days from Cadiz—found the *Florida* gone—she went to sea at night, escaping by the Southern passage, supposing that we were blockading the main entrance. She left in consequence of the order, issued by the French Government, similar to the proclamation of the Queen of England, forbidding Northern and Southern vessels to remain in port after 24 hours—it was served on us today, and we go to sea tomorrow. I received a telegram today, that the *Georgia* sailed two days ago from Brest [Cherbourg], and the *Rappahannock* is soon to follow; I shall go up the channel as far as Calais, and after hovering about to catch either of them should they remain, proceed as information may direct. It is very cold and our men suffer very much so far north. You have no idea what a flurry my numerous and constant correspondence keeps me in and I have so much to attend to besides."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BLOCKADE OF THE *RAPPAHANNOCK*

AS the vessels building for the Confederacy at Bordeaux, Nantes and Liverpool were all several months from completion, the *Kearsarge* could now devote her whole attention for a time to the *Rappahannock.* Accordingly, she took her station in the Channel off Calais, using Boulogne or Dover as harbors of refuge when necessary on account of weather.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"BOULOGNE-SUR-MER,
"*March 4, 1864.*

". . . I had just written "My dear Sir" instead of . . . so much is my mind occupied, with so many and various calls to attend to—to give you an idea, I was dining with an American gentleman, who has a chateau here, Mr. Jas. Brown, and while at table I was three times called out, twice by telegrams and once by a gentleman in person. We have numerous spies and the Confederates use the same means also for information. Morse, our consul in London, has a legion in his employ. The *Florida* is somewhere north or hiding in the channel. The *Rappahannock* is about coming out and I am using all exertions to discover the time,—and the whereabouts of the *Florida*—the *Georgia* is also somewhere in the vicinity. But all my endeavors have come to nothing as yet.

"We have had a perfect ovation at this place. It is the

great watering place of France and where Napoleon assembled his great army to invade England. A column commemorates the event. A fine town filled with English secessionists; but our ship is crowded, and so polite are we, that every day we see in London and Boulogne papers complimentary articles about the ship and officers. Yesterday an English boat with company, including seven ladies, came: we were coaling, decks covered with coal—told them so. They would not take no for an answer and aboard they came. We treated them so well, they all cheered us, and our crew returned it.

"The Admiral is a bitter secessionist, so Mr. Brown informed me. Today it rains, or we were to have had more admirals, more colonels and majors with their wives and daughters, than we had room for. Frenchmen also by the dozens.

"When I was at Dover it was bad weather, no sooner was the anchor dropped than off came *me* lords so and so sending their cards and all went away pleased, begging me to call at their residences.

"English ladies also, who rowed their boats right out in the channel, coming aboard and making the best of the worst weather. We have taken in coal and by the 24 hour order, I must go to sea tonight.

"I shall be off Calais tomorrow, under Danish colors and communicate with a spy on shore. Then to Hastings or Dover.

"I had no time to go on shore when at Dover last, the sea was rough and I was waiting telegrams. . . . Strange the Government will not send ships here.

"The *Alabama* is coming here, Semmes is in Paris, a gentleman saw him there last week. If we had had more ships here, we certainly could have got the *Georgia* or *Florida*."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OFF DOVER,
"*Mar. 18th, 1864.*

". . . You can have no idea what a season we have had in the channel since November; it has been the severest for blows and cold ever known here, and in consequence of the twenty-four hour law, we are forced to keep running about for

shelter from the storms, by getting under a lee. When it blows from the French side, we have to go over there, and when it blows from the English side, back we go for the same reason. This is the first moderate day I have seen for two weeks.

"A week ago, I left the Downs, which is inside of the Goodwin sands, for Dover, it being necessary to leave the Downs from the wind shifting; a few hours, wind again shifted and blowing away, we had to go back again, passing the Downs, we entered the mouth of the Thames and anchored off Margate;—blowing a gale all day. Next day back again to Dover, wind hove to again, heavy sea coming in twelve hours afterwards, away we went back to the Downs and last night again returned to Dover.

"An English Lieutenant, from the Admiral at Sheerness, ordering us not to take in coals, etc., but once in three months, within three miles of the coast, chased us to Margate, then to Dover, and got aboard of us at Deal. All this time I have to keep up constant communication with spies, to learn the least movement of the *Rappahannock*. There is nothing but rain and fog here, and the *Rappahannock* may come out any time, and we can't see her a length ahead of us. I have sent up to London to charter a small steamer, which will act as a spy on her movements, for our telegraph and letter communication are all known to them.

"You know Dover is a great place for fortifications, etc., and the whole of this coast seems covered with old castles. The English officers have been on board and invited us everywhere. Today I have begged to be excused, but I have let the other officers go on shore to dine at ½ past seven o'clock and afterwards to an evening concert given by the English officers. . . .

"Mr. Adams has sent me word that the *Niagara* and *Vanderbilt* are coming to relieve us. Now 'the horse is out, the stable is locked!' We should have got the *Georgia* had we had another steamer.

"People, inexperienced, have little idea what it is to blockade such a place as Brest. And here in the channel the

current is running 2½ miles an hour, a reef of rock right in the center, of several miles extent, nothing but thick foggy weather, etc. . . . constantly wanting coal, to obtain which we are obliged to order some vessel to meet us in mid-channel, or at some point on the coast of France, and perhaps find the storms have prevented her from reaching it, or else the sea too rough for her to come near us. Last time 'the good God,' as the French pilot says, 'favored us,' and the sea was smooth enough for us to coal three miles off Boulogne, but owing to the rain and fog, our coal was so wet, that all yesterday and today spontaneous combustion is going on in our bunkers and we may be burned up, or have to throw the coal overboard, after all the hard work we had to get it. I am very economical, but we must work engines in the channel.

"Reports from the United States are unfavorable, appearances unpromising. . . . When I left Brest rumors were prevalent that the *Georgia* and *Florida* were at Cherbourg. American vessels afraid to go out. I went from place to place, where the *Georgia* was reported to be, and not finding her, ordered the vessels to go out. The reports had been spread falsely by spies. . . ."

This persistent blockade was greatly disconcerting the Confederate agents. The *Georgia* was hovering about awaiting a chance to meet the *Rappahannock* at some appointed rendezvous and make a general transfer, but the commander of the latter expressed himself as having scarcely one chance in ten of making a successful sortie from Calais. The annoyance caused by the *Kearsarge* to Confederate agents was soon reflected by their partisans in the British Parliament and reacted upon her in the official treatment received in British ports.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
" OFF DOVER, ENGLAND,
" *March 21st, 1864.*

" SIR :

"I have the honor to inform the Department, that after leaving Brest we continued for some days to cruise from point to point in hopes of falling in with the *Georgia* or *Florida.* Reports everywhere reached us that these vessels still remained in the Channel. On our arrival at Cherbourg, we found several American vessels had sought safety in the harbor to escape the *Georgia*, which cruiser was said to be lying under Cape Barfleur. I immediately proceeded to that point, proved the falsity of the report, and returned to Cherbourg to give the information.

" Leaving Cherbourg for Dover, reports were again brought to us that the *Florida* was off the coast of France, and on our arrival in the roads off Boulogne in search of her, a person calling himself an agent of our Consul at London, affirmed positively that in two or three days he would give us information of her position. The man knew too much, and although a telegram was received from London that he was true, I soon satisfied them that he was a rebel spy, and the various reports had been circulated to draw us off from watching the *Rappahannock.* The appearance of the *Florida* at Madeira has set at rest all these reports, and we are left at liberty to direct our whole attention to the *Rappahannock.*

" I have to inform the Department, that the season has been of unusual severity, and we have been driven from point to point from England to France to take shelter under any headland that afforded us a lee.

" The mode adopted to intercept has been at such times at night when the tide served (as she can only come out of the inner harbor of Calais near high water) is to lie off the port with our lights out waiting her departure. Such, however, is the thick and foggy weather of the Channel, that there is every reason to apprehend that the *Rappahannock*, pursuing the same plan as we adopt, would escape us. I have thought it best, therefore, and at the instance of Mr. Adams and

Morse, have hired a small steamer at ten (10) pounds per day, which vessel secretly will keep watch upon her, follow and signalize her departure to us. This plan, should we be able to keep the *Kearsarge* supplied with coal, which the twenty-four hour law denies to us in port, will no doubt eventuate in her capture.

"I have the honor to be,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"DOVER ROADS, ENG.,
"*March 23d, 1864.*

"SIR :

"You will please inform the Masters of American vessels in your port, that there is not the slightest danger to fear from the *Rappahannock*. This vessel cannot come out of Calais, without the chances are such as almost to insure her capture.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
JNO. A. WINSLOW.

"To U. S. Consuls at
"Bremen, Ger., Ostend and Antwerp, Belg."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"*April 6th, 1864.*

"SIR :

"I have the honor to inform you, that owing to the continuous length of time which it has been necessary to keep the *Kearsarge* ready with steam, in cruising in the Channel, that her boilers were in that state which required that the fires should be hauled, and certain repairs made.

"A letter was addressed to you that an application in accordance with Her Majesty's Neutrality proclamation might be made to the Government to authorize this work.

"I have received no response to this application, but the repairs being such as the crew of this vessel could make, and

the principal object being to obtain a sheltered harbor, the work has been completed and I shall proceed immediately to sea. The only article obtained has been a spar with such small requirements supplied as is always incidental to a steam vessel. "I have the honor to be,

"Very respectfully &c

"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS,

"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen.*"

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

"LONDON, *6 April, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I regret to be compelled to inform you that Her Majesty's Government in reply to my application for permission to the *Kearsarge* to remain here for the completion of some repairs, has taken exception to this sudden manner in which the vessel has been brought here and put into dock, before notice given or any discretion exercised about allowing time for an answer. I am obliged to admit that there has been an omission of courtesy in this respect which is embarassing. There has also been some disposition to object to your use of the harbors on this side as a base of hostilities, which I desire to mention for the sake of putting you on your guard against giving causes of offense. As I do not understand his Lordship as giving the permission asked for, I regret to be constrained to request you to proceed to sea without delay, whether the repairs be completed or not. "I have the honor to be,

"Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

"Capt. J. A. WINSLOW, U. S. N.,

"*Comdg. U. S. S. Kearsarge.*"

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*

"*April 6th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of this day date.

"I would beg leave to reply, that in my view, I find no

cause for which Her Majesty's Government could justly institute a complaint against this ship for entering the Victoria Docks.

"An application was forwarded from Dover roads, stating the necessity and requesting permission for repairs. This was done as a matter of etiquette and respect to the government of Her Majesty; but the right was clearly granted by Her Majesty's proclamation of February 1st, 1862, which is as follows:

"'If any ship-of-war or privateer of either belligerent shall, after the time when this order shall be first notified and put in force in the United Kingdom and in the Channel islands, and in the several colonies, and foreign possessions and dependencies of her Majesty respectively, enter any port, roadstead, or waters belonging to her Majesty, either in the United Kingdom or in the Channel islands, or in any of her Majesty's colonies, or foreign possessions, or dependencies, such vessel shall be required to depart and to put to sea within twentyfour hours after her entrance into such port, roadstead, or waters, except in case of stress of weather, or of her requiring provisions or things necessary for the subsistence of her crew, or repairs.'

"This acknowledges and endorses the right of a ship-of-war belonging to the United States to enter any port in England for the purpose of repair, and if I am wrong in the construction of language, in which the sense is so apparent, it would seem no more than right to ask from her Majesty's government an explanatory construction.

"I have the honor to be,
"Most respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"HON. CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.*"

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
VICTORIA (LONDON) DOCKS,
"*Apail 7th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department, that it became necessary from the state of machinery and foulness of the bot-

tom of this vessel, to make a sheltered harbor for examination. I accordingly left Dover roads for the nearest port, and entered the Victoria docks in the Thames the 31st March. The bottom having been examined and cleaned, and the necessary repairs made, I shall sail again this day to take up my station in the Channel.

"I enclose copy of the report of the Chief Engineer of this vessel of repairs completed.

"I have the honor to be,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"To the
"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"VICTORIA (LONDON) DOCKS,
"*April 7th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to enclose copy of correspondence with Mr. Adams, U. S. Minister at London.

"The Department will see, that this ship is forbidden to lay at the roadsteads of the Downs and Dover; and the determination of the English government to shut her off from running under the headlands, which has afforded the only partial lee, for escape from the blows in the Channel.

"I have already been informed by the French authorities, that I could not lay outside of any ports of France, for a longer period than twenty-four hours, and this coast does not afford that shelter which the headlands of England offer.

"Under these circumstances, as the shoals in the Channel, with the strong current and fogs, render it dangerous to keep between them, I shall be compelled to make Ostend as the nearest port or some other, and use such efforts at the time as will afford the most reasonable prospect of intercepting the *Rappahannock*.

"I have been satisfied, that with the aid of the *Annette* (the small chartered steamer), we should have been able to

overhaul this vessel shortly after her departure; but the request of Mr. Adams, on the complaint of Earl Russel, not to make Dover roads a basis of operations, will compel us to use other means for this object.

"The chartered steamer *Annette* has been of great service, and from secret information received, she proceeded to Dunkirk and Ostend; relieved some thirteen American ships, which were shut up from fear of the *Rappahannock;* discovered at last that the French luggers *Jerome* and *Imperial* with ammunition, and some guns, was no myth, but under assumed names were lying at Ostend; and has obtained other valuable information.

"The French government having ordered the seizure of the *Rappahannock,* I deemed it expedient to inform Mr. Morse, that I should not continue the charter; but his opinion, based on information from secret agents, that the *Rappahannock* would shortly be released, may modify this determination. In the meantime he has assumed the charter for the interest of the State Department.

"Mr. Morse informs me that the *Georgia's* arrival at Bordeaux was not in consequence of repairs required, but that she had two guns, with other material for the *Rappahannock;* her object was communication: and he has secret information that she will return in the Channel to some appointed rendezvous for meeting the *Rappahannock.*

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW *Captain.*

"To the
"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
"LONDON, *8 April, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have received your letter of the 6th instant, and noted its contents.

"It must be obvious to you that the Queen's Proclamation

draws a clear distinction between the entry of a belligerent vessel, into port for twenty-four hours, which is a right conceded, and the permission to remain longer on assigning a specific reason among those enumerated. Unless such reason be presented, the British Government could have no means of carrying into effect its restriction upon the stay of any vessel just so long as the Commander might please to keep her. On the other hand, if it be bound to require the departure of every such vessel in twenty-four hours, unless there be reason to the contrary, it follows of course that the party requiring an extension of time must give reasons for wishing it. The Government must necessarily have the right of judging of the goodness of those reasons, or the restriction will be of no avail.

"In all cases of this kind it is important to keep an eye on the hearing of an argument, in the event of a future reversal of the position of the respective parties in action. I am very clear that the Government of the United States would never permit any officer of a foreign nation to judge for himself whether or not he has a right to neglect the conditions they may be pleased to make as to his entry into their ports.

"Hereafter should you find it necessary to visit any port in this kingdom for any purpose requiring a longer stay than twenty-four hours, I must ask it of you that you give me full notice of your arrival, in season to make application for permission, and that you do not avail yourself of any privilege secured by the Proclamation unless it be in cases of extreme necessity, until you shall receive notice from me that such permission has been obtained. . . ."

From Minister Adams; signature sheet missing.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OFF AMBLETEUSE, FRANCE,
"*April 10th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 8th inst.

"In response I would beg leave to say, that your request shall be fully complied with, though I feel it my duty to state, that I have only made use of the headlands on the English

coast for a lee, and the exclusion to this ship of this shelter, must necessarily act materially against the chances of her intercepting the *Rappahannock*.

"I have the honor to be, most respectfully,
"Your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.*"

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"OFF AMBLETEUSE, FRANCE,
"*April 12th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"Certain parts of your letter to me of the 8th inst. are rather of obscure significance, which I will be obliged to you for explanation. You say, 'Hereafter, should you find it necessary to visit any port in this Kingdom, requiring a longer stay than twenty-four hours, I must ask it of you, that you give me full notice of your arrival, in season to make application for permission; and that you do not avail yourself of any privilege secured by the Proclamation, unless it be in cases of extreme necessity, until you shall receive notice from me that such permission has been obtained.'

"By the construction put upon the Proclamation as expressed in your letter in the antecedent, your intention may be to signify your conviction, that this ship has no right to enter a port in the English dominions, without permission.

"To my mind it comes under a privilege secured by the Proclamation, and to comply with it would be to shut off the coast of England from shelter to us; for it is obvious to you that we cannot give to you previous notice. I would therefore beg leave to ask whether I am right in the construction.

"A letter addressed to Dover, care Consular Agent, will reach me. "I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. Charles Francis Adams,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.*"

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
"LONDON, *15 April, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have received your letter of the 12th instant asking me for an explanation of a passage in my letter of the 8th which seems to you difficult to understand.

"I am very happy to furnish any elucidation of it in my power.

"I am not aware of having given any cause for the inference which you draw from my language, that 'your ship has no right to enter a port in the English dominons without permission.'

"The right of entrance and stay in a British Port is nowhere disputed. But so long as the parties to this war are recognized as belligerents, the British Government has by proclamation restricted this right to a period of twenty-four hours. After that time has elapsed permission to remain longer may be obtained for causes assigned. These causes are specified in the Proclamation.

"My intention in writing as I did to you was to say that whenever it was in your power to give notice of your desire to avail yourself of the privileges granted for any of those causes, you should do so in good season for me to make application in your behalf. The exception which I made of extreme necessity referred to the possibility of your being driven in by stress of weather or other imminent danger to the safety of your vessel, which might render previous notice impossible. Even in these cases, however, it may be well for you to give me the earliest notice possible after your arrival.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

"Capt.
"J. A. WINSLOW,
"*Comdg. U. S. S. 'Kearsarge.'*"

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,
"WASHINGTON,
"*April 23rd, 1864.*

"SIR:

"Your despatch of the 7th instant enclosing the correspondence between yourself and Mr. Adams, has been received

at this Department. I have also received from the Secretary of State copies of the correspondence transmitted to the Government by our Minister at London, who also forwards a newspaper slip containing what purports to be a letter addressed by yourself to the Marquis of Clanricarde under date of April 6th. Mr. Adams feels that he is embarrassed in his official relations by the irregular communication referred to, and by your course in overstaying the permitted time without leave properly obtained.

"The papers have been submitted to the President who, appreciating your zeal in the service, is nevertheless convinced that your proceedings tend to embarrass our Minister in the conduct of his difficult and responsible position. I am therefore directed to communicate to you these views of the President and to enjoin upon you to refrain from a renewal or recurrence of the proceedings.

"The distinctions made by Mr. Adams in his correspondence with you are worthy of consideration, and it is always desirable that on foreign and difficult duty, such as is entrusted to you, and when the relations of the Government are involved, you should, in questions like those presented on the occasion of detaining the Kearsage, observe the usual courtesies, and make your application through the representative of the Government for such privileges as you may desire.

"Very respectfully,
"GIDEON WELLES,
"*Sec'y of Navy.*

"Capt. J. A. WINSLOW,
"*Comdg. U. S. S. 'Kearsarge.'*"

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"DOVER ROADS,
"*April 8th, 1864.*

". . . I have just reached here in the *Kearsarge* from London, where it was necessary to go for repairs, but they have abused us and chased us up so that we got an order to leave with or without repairs. There has been hardly a day that they have not opened their battery upon me, in Parlia-

ment; I have got so used to abuse, that I pay no attention to it now.

"My time has been occupied with repairs and the multiplicity of correspondence. . . . I have written the Secretary of the Navy that I am forbidden the roadstead in the Channel, and that I shall be compelled to make Ostend or some other point a base for operations."

The use of Ostend came near being disastrous.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OSTEND, BELGIUM,
"*April 19th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department of an accident which came near being of serious consequence to this ship.

"On entering the channel between the piers which leads to the harbor in this port, the pilot gave the ship too much sheer and fouled a smack, carrying away her topmast, with other slight damage. Immediately he ordered the helm hard over, keeping it there too long. His object was not seen until it was too late to prevent the accident, and the ship ran high up, carrying away the pedestrian bridge on the eastern side of the canal.

"The water receded and left her forefoot out of water, but I directed guys to be got out from the mastheads stayed by pennant tackles, which kept her on an even keel.

"On the return of high water, having previously got our purchases ready, we hove her off. Not the slightest strain was observed, and no damage done except a perceptible movement of the shoe plates on the forefoot, and some copper chafed off.

"The accident was so egregious a blunder, as led the officers to say the pilot was bribed; for no person of the meanest capacity could not have prevented it.

"The damage to the pier bridge, which is estimated at two hundred (200) pounds, the consul thinks the government will assume. This accords with decision in such cases where

damage has followed from merchant vessels coming in contact.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OSTEND, BELGIUM,
"*April 18th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"A report may reach you that the *Kearsarge* was on shore. A pilot at Ostend ran her on a pier, carrying it away. But the ship received no damage, and is ready for active service.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully, your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. WM. L. DAYTON,
"*Env. Ext. and Min. Plen. of the U. S.*"

Having now but the one vessel to watch, and that one in a harbor easily blockaded, Winslow was most anxious that nothing should be placed in the way of her departure.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OSTEND, BELGIUM,
"*April 20th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I duly received yours, and Mr. Crawford's notes, conveying information of the enlistment of twenty-five (25) seamen for the *Rappahannock.*

"It is found expedient to let matters take their course, as the only curative course is capture.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully, your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"AARON GOODRICH, Esq.,
"*Secretary of Legation.*
"Belgium."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"OFF CALAIS,
"*16th April, 1864.*

". . . You have no idea how I have been bothered in one way and another. I have had a sharp correspondence with Mr. Adams, our Minister. He has sided with the English in everything. He ordered me from the English coast, and now I have no place but the English Channel. The Americans are all mad with him. He wrote me he had reported me to the Government. Mr. Dayton is just the opposite.

"I arranged secret information to be sent to Ostend, where circumstances forced me to go, and going into Ostend the rascally pilot ran the ship nearly high and dry, right through the pier bridge, carrying everything away, but the ship sustained no damage. We had hard work for Sunday; but I adopted such measures that at night we got her off. So I commenced fitting up and painting and took the opportunity to run up to Brussels, hoping to go in the next day to Antwerp; but there was no place for me. Messengers with telegrams from the American Minister and different consuls, pursued me everywhere with numerous absurd reports. Among others, that Mason and Slidell had arranged some plan to catch the *Kearsarge*. Three hundred boarders were to come off, somewhere and somehow, board and take the *Kearsarge*. To which I exclaimed: 'Nonsense, Gentlemen; I have had enough of this.' The poor *Kearsarge* has been chasing up the pirates everywhere, trying every way to get at them. Papers have been full of challenges, etc. My experience teaches me, it is the business of the vessels to keep clear of us and *that* they have most effectually done.

"Though I knew the report that the *Rappahannock* was about sailing was false, I telegraphed: 'Take the *Kearsarge* out of the port and wait next train for me at Ostend.' At nine o'clock the next morning I was on board, amidst paint, bustle and everything. (Leaving several officers and men on shore, who rejoined me at Calais.) On my way down, got return telegram from Mr. Dayton: '*Rappahannock* was not released,' which on arrival at Calais I found true. I am now in the Channel, where the agents, who lie so to show their

vigilance, cannot get at me. I have been very anxious about this vessel and have adopted the best means for her capture.

"The English papers say that now that the *Kearsarge* has been run ashore and disabled is the time for the *Rappahannock* to go out. But the *Kearsarge*, although carrying everything in the way of piers away, shew not a strain herself; and they are *slightly mistaken.* . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"OFF CALAIS, FRANCE,
"*April 26, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department that from information received that the *Rappahannock* was about sailing, the *Kearsarge* left Ostend suddenly on the 21st inst., and arrived off Calais some six hours afterwards. The *Rappahannock* was still in port, and although every preparation had been made for sailing, I learnt that she had not been released.

"Mr. Dayton informs me that no final action on her case will be taken by the French Government until after the conference of the lawyers appointed by the Government shall have given their opinion.

"The Department will see that the papers announce the *Florida* being again at Madeira, and the arrival of the *Alabama* at Cape Town.

"Secret agents for a month or more have asservated that the *Alabama* had orders and would return to the British Channel or some other place of rendezvous for her consorts, and it was contemplated to make an attack upon some of the eastern towns. I gave no credit to these statements, but the arrival of the *Alabama* at Cape Town and the continuance of the *Florida* and *Georgia* on the coast of Europe, may, in opinion of the Department, afford some foundation for these reports. "I have the honor to be

"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES, "JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

"LEGATION DES ETATS UNIS,
"PARIS, LE *30th April, 1864.*

"Captain WINSLOW
"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge.'*

"SIR:

"In an interview with Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, from which I have just returned, he informed me that the persons who have been engaged in applying to the French Government to get out the *Rappahannock* have now informed him that all further attempts for that purpose have been abandoned and that the vessel will be left to rot where she is. I have no fear, therefore, of the early discharge of this vessel.

"The four clipper ships which are being constructed by Mr. Annan at Bordeaux and Nantes for the Confederates are in the course of rapid completion, particularly the *Yeddo* and *Osaco*, which lie at Bordeaux. The *Yeddo* is advertised to sail for China on the 30th May and the *Osaco* on the 30th June under pretense that they are for the French China line. They are both Confederate vessels and should be captured if possible.

"The *Georgia*, I am informed, has sailed for Antwerp.

"I am Sir
"Your obedient servant
"WM. L. DAYTON."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"DOVER ROADS, ENG.,
"*May 16th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report, that from information received from Mr. Dayton, that the rebels had rejected the conditions which the French government had attached to the release of the *Rappahannock*, and further that the *Georgia* had been diverted from proceeding to Antwerp, her intended destination, from apprehension of meeting the *Kearsarge*, and had gone into Liverpool. I resolved to take advantage of this opportunity, and accordingly left for Flushing, for examination as to any injuries which the bottom of this vessel might have received at Ostend.

"On docking her she was found to have sustained no injury, except copper torn from her keel, and on parts of her bilges ruffed up. The renewal of this took fifty-one sheets of copper at a cost for docking, labor, etc., of three hundred and sixty-one dollars and sixty-two cents ($361.62). The ship's bottom is now in a fine state.

"I beg to inform the Department that I received from the officials at Flushing every facility for the work, by the offer of materials and mechanics without limit, and it is but justice to say, that a ready disposition and kindness was in all instances manifested to assist us.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant
"Jno. A. Winslow,
"*Captain.*

"To the
"Hon. Gideon Welles,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

"Flushing, Holland,
"'*Kearsarge*,' *May 15th, 1864.*

". . . One of your letters forwarded here, contains a notice of *Kearsarge* debate in Parliament, and I suppose ere this you have seen more about it. My letter to Earl Clanricarde placed matters in the right light, and threw the tables on our side, for everyone was ashamed to make other attacks on us. I received from everyone the most unbounded civility—particularly from officers of the English Army and Navy. I came here to go into dock, to put the copper on, which was knocked off at Ostend, and the ignorant pilot came near doing us more damage than we received there, for he ran us against the wharves and piles. I never knew one more ignorant; however, I am now out, all repairs completed and shall sail again for Dover to-day. I cannot say where I shall next go, but I suppose it will depend upon the *Rappahannock*, though we have kept her in, she has prevented us going after others.

"Off Dover, *16th May, U. S. S. 'Kearsarge.'* The *Rappahannock* is stopped by the French Government, but should the rebels be successful, we shall have more privateers from France or England than we know what to do with."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"Folkstone Harbor,
"*May 30, 1864.*

". . . I sent an officer up to Paris, who has just returned and brings word from Mr. Dayton that 'the *Rappahannock* case is not decided yet, although from the activity, and the number of men on board, I took it for granted she would soon be released.' As there is nothing therefore to keep me in the Channel, and I can't go into either English or French ports for over twenty-four hours, I am going up to Flushing again, to remain until I hear something more decided about the *Rappahannock*. I did not care much about seeing ————, I saw at once he was on the Southern side—the truth is all England is on that side except Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Liberals. A gentleman who was one of them told me a revolution would be created there if the Tories went to war with the United States, but notwithstanding the Tories are doing everything to force it on—I believe they would cheer in Parliament if they heard of a decided Southern victory, so strong is the feeling to divide the United States. . . . I don't know how the war is going, but the news came so good of Grant's victories—followed by contradiction—that one is in doubt what to believe.

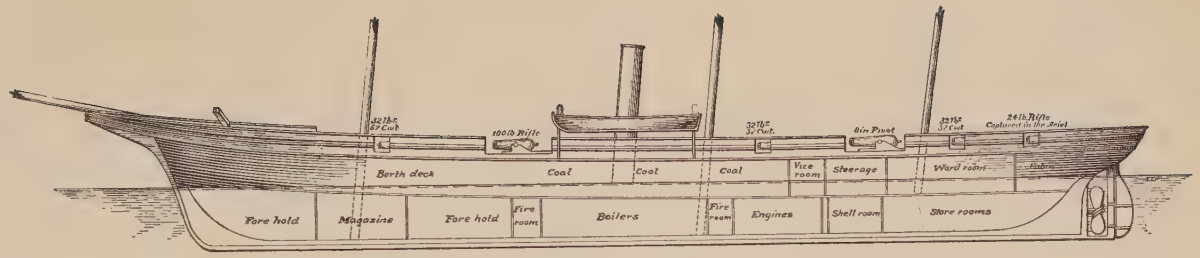
"I sail tonight for Flushing. . . ."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE *ALABAMA* AT CHERBOURG.

MEANWHILE, the most formidable of all the Confederate cruisers, after a career of commerce destruction that may remain unparalleled in the annals of history, was nearing the scene of Winslow's operations, forced thither by the inevitable consequences of her employment. The *Alabama* had cruised at will for two years, and captured sixty-eight United States merchant vessels, valued, by her appraisement, at $5,500,000. She had practically driven American commerce from the high seas. Only twice had she encountered Federal men-of-war: one, the *San Jacinto*, she had eluded at Martinique; and the other, the *Hatteras*, she had lured to sea from the Galveston blockade and sunk in a night engagement. Subsequently she was barely missed by the *Vanderbilt* at Cape Town and by the *Wyoming* in the East Indies. Haphazard search for her had proved absolutely fruitless, but all things come to him who waits, provided he waits in the right place, and this Winslow had done.

Captain Semmes writes of the *Alabama* when at Singapore in December, 1863:



C.S.S. ALABAMA.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY
1 MONTAGUE ST.

"My ship was getting very much out of repair. The hard usage to which she had been subjected since she had been commissioned had very much impaired her strength, and so constantly had she been under way, that the attrition of the water had worn the copper on her bottom so thin that it was daily loosening and dropping off in sheets. Her speed had, in consequence, been much diminished. The fire in her furnaces . . . had never been permitted to go out, except for a few hours at rare intervals, to enable the engineer to clink her bars and remove the incrustations of salt from the bottoms of his boilers. This constant action of fire and salt had nearly destroyed them." [1]

He writes again of his return to Cape Town in March, 1864:

"My intention now was to make the best of my way to England or France, for the purpose of docking and thoroughly overhauling and repairing my ship, in accordance with my previously expressed design." [1]

United States newspapers received at this time made Semmes gravely apprehensive for the outcome of the conflict at home; and the reflections of this, the greatest of commerce destroyers, upon the results of his labors are deeply significant and worthy of careful study by those who still advocate that method of warfare:

"From the whole review of the situation [he says] I was very apprehensive that the cruises of the *Alabama* were drawing to a close. As for ourselves, we were doing the best we could, with our limited means, to harass and cripple the enemy's commerce, that important sinew of war; but the enemy seemed resolved to let his commerce go, rather than forego his purpose of subjugating us." [1]

[1] *Service Afloat.*

Being shrewd enough to realize that the Confederacy had nearly run its course, it seems probable that a feeling of desperation was coming over this heretofore sanguine man, creating a desire to close his career afloat by a brilliant action, whether profitable to his country or not. It is significant that, on April 23d, having captured the American ship *Rockingham* on his way to Europe, he resorted to the very unusual expedient of using her for target practice. Of this, he himself writes :

". . . the weather being fine, we made a target of the prize, firing some shot and shell into her with good effect."[1]

Lieut. Arthur Sinclair, in his *Two Years on the 'Alabama,'* writes of this :

". . . we made a target of the prize. The breeze was light and sea smooth, and at point blank and elevated range the gun divisions amused themselves blithely. Considerable damage was done the target in the hull, the cabin particularly being torn up and knocked into splinters. . . . It is curious to compare the fine execution in this target practice and the woful failure in the *Kearsarge* engagement which closely followed it."

The captain of the *Rockingham* afterward made affidavit before the United States Consular Agent at Cherbourg that twenty-four shots were fired at five hundred yards and over, and that four hits were made in the *Rockingham's* hull and three in the spars and rigging. This exceeds threefold the ordinary percentage of hits in battle.

It is certainly a rare advantage for a warship to have target practice at sea at a real vessel within

[1] *Service Afloat.*

two months of battle. The *Kearsarge's* last target practice prior to the battle was eight days earlier, off Boulogne. An improvised target was used and thirty-five shots fired.

The *Alabama* made The Lizard on the 10th of June. It is probable that Captain Semmes did not choose his port until he had learned all possible news from his Channel pilot. France was naturally preferred to England, because of a more unconcealed leaning toward the Confederate cause; and a government dockyard was desirable, because the Emperor's ready sympathy almost guaranteed the use of it. At Brest, the *Alabama* was likely to get "the cold shoulder," because of the *Florida's* long and much protested sojourn. Cherbourg came next, and in that port Captain Semmes brought his ship to anchor on the 11th of June. Information of his arrival was telegraphed to Winslow at Flushing, by Minister Dayton, on the 12th.

The opportunity had come and the man was ready. Experience had taught all its lessons. There was to be no running short of provisions; no relaxing the grip this time through unforseen contingencies.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"DOVER ROADS, ENG.,
"*June 13, 1864.*

"SIR:

"Having been informed by Mr. Dayton that, notwithstanding the preparations made for immediate departure of the *Rappahannock*, some time would elapse before a final decision in her case would be made by the French government, I sailed in the *Kearsarge* on the 30th ult. for the Scheldt River to await events, which would determine my future movements.

"Yesterday I received a telegram from Mr. Dayton informing me that the *Alabama* had put into Cherbourg, when I immediately left on my way for that port. After receiving a new trysail and topsail, ordered here by survey, I shall proceed and expect to reach Cherbourg tomorrow night.

"I have deemed it expedient, as there are two passages at Cherbourg, eastern and western, and we shall be wanting provision, to telegraph Commander Preble to take in stores in the *St. Louis* and proceed to make a junction with this vessel at that place.

"The season of the year is such that the *St. Louis* can very well operate off Cherbourg, and although she would be of very little use for chasing, yet by keeping a good lookout on one of the entrances and signalising she may be of great service.

"Hoping my course will meet with the approbation of the Department,

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JOHN A. WINSLOW,
"*Captain.*

"Hon.
"GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

Telegram to Commander Preble, June 12th, received at Tangier, June 16th:

"Take on board immediately provisions and proceed with all possible haste in the *St. Louis* to Cherbourg, for the purpose of joining the *Kearsarge*, and at the same time order Mr. Yeaton to take passage in the *St. Louis*.

"WINSLOW."

Information of the *Alabama's* appearance reached the *Kearsarge* as she lay at anchor in the river Scheldt, off Flushing, on Sunday afternoon, June 12th. The cornet was immediately hoisted and a gun fired, recalling everybody to the ship. Fires

were quickly lighted, and before dark the good ship was in the English Channel hastening toward her adversary. Captain Winslow then called all hands to muster, and informed the crew that the *Alabama* was at Cherbourg and that he was going to make every effort to fight her. Rousing cheers greeted the announcement, and all "Jacky's" minutiæ of preparation for battle were indulged in on the way down.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"OFF DOVER, *June 13, 1864.*

". . . I have just arrived here on my way to Cherbourg to blockade the *Alabama*, which has just put in there. I got a telegram from our minister at Paris, informing me of this yesterday, and sailed immediately from Flushing, and have stopped here for some things ordered before. I wrote Mr. Welles the *Alabama* would be up here, in time to have had a dozen steamers sent here—but hang me if I can understand the movements at Washington. However, I want to catch Semmes. . . .

"They are getting out some Confederate steamers from Bordeaux, under the Dutch flag, but I have informed Mr. Dayton and Pike of the *modus operandi.*

"It is singular, of the many laws passed by the Navy in the two past years, we never have received one, and are all in the dark.

"I find I have not the health that I had, and that 'Mississippi fever' has done its work, with my old blind eye, and a constitution which is extremely susceptible to cold, which always increases the inflammation in eye and ears, I am fast running down hill.

"G——— wrote me about my letter to Clanricarde—but he, or anyone away from here, is not aware of the immense influence which had been brought to bear to bring on war with the United States and England. The Tories have moved everything to effect it, with the hope of dividing the country

and breaking down democracy. Our time will come to teach a lesson, but we must abide it; fortunately, the rams are bought and the serious question over, but I have been prudent in this affair, and everywhere gained eclat."

On the 14th of June, during a dull gray afternoon, the *Kearsarge* steamed in behind the Cherbourg breakwater by the eastern entrance and stopped in the harbor near the *Alabama* without anchoring, while a boat was sent ashore to communicate. Meanwhile, the crews of the two vessels crowded curiously and mutely to the rail to scrutinize their prospective adversaries.

What were the feelings of the two commanders, Semmes and Winslow?—shipmates, messmates, and roommates in a previous war, in which each had won commendation for brave deeds. In that war they had fought side by side with all the ardor of youth; now, in the maturity of years and experience, they had come together again, grim if not bitter opponents in a far more stupendous conflict, duellists as equally equipped as such can ever be in naval warfare. Each was familiar with the other's characteristics. Semmes knew that he would be blockaded with ceaseless vigilance; Winslow felt sure that his opponent would ultimately fight his way out rather than be smothered in a hole.

The *Kearsarge's* boat was at first not even allowed to communicate with the shore; later, however, an officer was permitted to visit the United States Consular Agent and the Port Admiral. Captain Winslow asked permission to take on board the marines from the *Alabama's* prizes, whom Semmes

had set on shore, but this was refused. However, a good deal of information about the *Alabama* was obtained from them, and, in retaliation, a protest was made against any increment to the *Alabama's* crew, which prevented her from getting several officers and men who had once formed a part of her complement.

The *Kearsarge* steamed out through the channel opposite the one by which she had entered, and took up her station on blockade. The Captain of the *Alabama* then wrote the following letters:

"*C. S. S.* '*Alabama*,'
"CHERBOURG, *June 14, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I hear that you were informed by the U. S. consul that the *Kearsarge* was to come to this port solely for the prisoners landed by me, and that he was to depart in twenty-four hours. I desire to say to the U. S. consul that my intention is to fight the *Kearsarge* as soon as I can make the necessary arrangements. I hope these will not detain me more than until to-morrow evening, or after the morrow morning at furthest. I beg she will not depart before I am ready to go out.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. SEMMES,
"*Captain.*

"AD. BONFILS, Esq.,
"Cherbourg."

"*C. S. S.* '*Alabama*,'
"CHERBOURG, *June 14, 1864.*

"DEAR BARRON:

"The *Kearsarge* is off the port, which I understand, of course, as a challenge. As we are about equally matched, I shall go out to engage her as soon as I can make the necessary preparations, which will probably be to-morrow. As the issue

of combats is always uncertain, I have deposited 4 1/2 sacks of sovereigns, containing about 4,700, and the paymaster's last pay roll with Mr. Ad. Bonfils, of Cherbourg, a gentleman known to Mr. Slidell.

"I have also deposited a package of ransom bonds (sealed), all of which please bear in mind in case of accident.

"Yours, truly, etc.,

"R. SEMMES.

"Flag-Officer S. BARRON."

The reasons which induced Semmes to seek a fight so promptly are nowhere directly stated, not even in his own loquacious narrative. Nevertheless, he says many things that indicate the trend of his reasoning in the matter.

"Many changes had taken place . . . among my crew . . . but still a large proportion of my old men had come back with us. These were faithful and true, and took more than ordinary interest in their ship and their flag. There was harmony and mutual confidence between officers and men. . . .

"Cherbourg being exclusively a naval station, the docks all belonged to the Government . . . and the matter [of docking] was laid over until the emperor could be communicated with. The Emperor was then at Biarritz . . . and would not be back in Paris for several days. It was my intention, if I had been admitted promptly into dock, to give my crew a leave of absence for a couple of months. They would have been discharged and dispersed in the first twenty-four hours after my arrival, but for the temporary absence of the Emperor. The combat, therefore, which ensued, may be said to be due to the Emperor's accidental absence from Paris.

". . . the enemy's steamer *Kearsarge* was lying at Flushing. . . . three days after our arrival she steamed into the harbor . . . and, without anchoring, steamed out again, and took her station off the breakwater. We had heard

a day or two before of the expected arrival of this ship, and it was generally understood among my crew that I intended to engage her. . . . I now addressed a note to Bonfils, our agent, requesting him to inform Captain Winslow, through the United States Consul, that if he would wait until I could receive some coal on board . . . I would come out and give him battle. The message was duly conveyed, and the defiance was understood to have been accepted.

"I had communicated my intention to fight this battle to Flag Officer Barron, my senior officer in Paris, a few days before, and that officer had generously left the matter to my own discretion.

"My crew seemed not only willing, but anxious for the combat, and I had every confidence in their steadiness and drill.

"As for the two ships . . . they were of force so nearly equal, that I cannot be charged with rashness in having offered battle." [1]

The preceding remarks read like a cloak to his real reason, yet they give it in part. Captain Semmes had, beyond doubt, learned enough at Cherbourg to convince him that the Confederacy was on its last legs; that the French Emperor was experiencing a change of heart; that the *Alabama* would probably never be permitted all the repairs she needed; that his crew, once discharged, could never be reshipped, and, if not discharged, would rapidly desert. He probably remembered the *Rockingham* target practice and felt, as he writes, that his officers and men would never be and had never been in such good trim for fighting as they were right then. Chances seemed at the moment about equal; delay meant inevitable deterioration for him, and probably an increase of force for the

[1] *Service Afloat.*

enemy. Should he permit the *Alabama* to be "bottled up" and abandoned in port, or should he submit her fate to the chances of a battle with an equal? There could be but one decision.

Semmes, when rescued, told Mr. Lancaster he fought the *Kearsarge* because the *Alabama* was then so watched everywhere that she could not escape. She was quite out of repair; could not properly steam, as she needed new tubes to her boilers, so, having consulted with the representatives of the Confederate States at Paris, he put in for some repairs at Cherbourg, and, finding he could go nowhere, decided that the only chance left was to fight, and perhaps win.

His so-called challenge was received on board the *Kearsarge* during the afternoon of June 15th. No reply was made; none was necessary. The only acknowledgement to be found is in the *Kearsarge's* log for that date:

"At 6:30 P.M. beat to quarters. Loaded the battery and cleared ship for action."

The log of the *Kearsarge* records no further preparation for battle beyond the regular routine of drill, except one special drill at repelling boarders, which is significant when we read in Semmes' memoirs of his intention, if possible, to board. The *Kearsarge* had, in fact, been ready for battle for more than a year — since the 14th of May, 1863, when the sheet chains were ranged along her hull in wake of the boilers, to protect them whenever the ship was light through consumption of fuel.

Semmes declared immediately after the battle, and subsequently in his memoirs, that he knew nothing of this protection. There was no reason why he should, except that it had been quite a customary expedient of Federal vessels for nearly two years, yet Lieutenant Arthur Sinclair, in his *Two Years on the 'Alabama,'* writes:

"I have often been asked why Semmes should decide to fight. . . . with the full knowledge . . . that the midship section of the *Kearsarge* was protected by bights of chain cables hung over her sides.

"The port admiral [of Cherbourg] manifested a fellow feeling and interest . . . by informing Semmes, a day or two before the fight, that an officer detailed to visit the *Kearsarge* in the offing had reported the fact of the chain armor arranged on the ship. . . . Winslow, for protecting his ship with chain armor, should, in the humble judgment of the writer . . . be accounted as simply using proper prudence in the direct line of duty. . . . Semmes knew all about it, and could have adopted the same scheme. It was not his election to do so."

As a matter of fact, Semmes was protecting his ship in a manner that he probably thought equally good. The *Alabama* reached Cherbourg with plenty of coal in her bunkers to fight a battle; it was estimated by a Confederate authority at 200 tons. Nevertheless, Semmes' greatest effort in preparation for combat was to fill his ship with coal. This protected nearly the same vital area on her as the chain cables did on the *Kearsarge*.

The week of preparation in the harbor of Cherbourg was a very busy one for all hands on the *Alabama*. Semmes called in consultation

Commander George T. Sinclair, an ordnance expert of the old navy, then a Confederate agent in Europe, and discussed with him the plan of action and the merits of shot and shell in particular contingencies.

Light spars were sent down, top hamper was unrove and standing rigging stoppered. The battery was thoroughly overhauled; the magazines and shell rooms broken out and specially restowed for rapid handling of ammunition. Special attention was given to perfecting the crew in boarding. The drill of general quarters was held twice during the week. All captured chronometers, and the paymaster's safe, in which the officers had been admonished to put their valuables, were sent on shore. Semmes' journal records preparations as follows:

"Hearing that the enemy's steamer *Kearsarge* would arrive here in a day or two, I am still keeping the crew on board, and this afternoon we had a general exercise at quarters. . . . Great excitement on board, the *Kearsarge* having made her appearance off the eastern entrance of the breakwater at about 11 A. M. Sent an order on shore immediately for coal (100 tons) and sent down the yards on the mizzen-mast and the topgallant yards, and otherwise preparing the ship for action.

"*Wednesday, June* 15.—The admiral sent off his aide-de-camp to say to me that he considered my application for repairs withdrawn upon my making application for coal, to which I assented. We commenced coaling this afternoon. The *Kearsarge* is still in the offing. She has not been permitted to receive on board the prisoners landed by me, to which I had objected in a letter to the admiral. Mailed a note yesterday afternoon to Flag-Officer Barron, informing him of my intention to go out to engage the enemy as soon as I could

make my preparations, and sent a written notice to the U. S. consul, through Mr. Bonfils, to the same effect. My crew seem to be in the right spirit, a quiet spirit of determination pervading both officers and men. The combat will no doubt be contested and obstinate, but the two ships are so equally matched that I do not feel at liberty to decline it. God defend the right, and have mercy upon the souls of those who fall, as many of us must."

It became quite generally understood in Cherbourg that Semmes intended to fight on Sunday, the 19th of June. Hundreds, if not thousands, of people gathered in the city from distant points, completely filling the hotels. Winslow, however, not having communicated with the shore since receiving Semmes' "challenge," knew nothing of the time proposed, and waited impatiently from day to day with fading hope.

Kell, the *Alabama's* executive, reported every preparation completed on Saturday evening. Semmes then notified the Port Admiral officially that he would go out in the morning. All hands were piped down early on the Confederate cruiser for a good night's rest.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE *ALABAMA*.

ON the 17th of June, the British steam-yacht *Deerhound* arrived at Cherbourg and anchored near the *Alabama*. A few days before, she had landed her owner, Mr. John Lancaster, with his family, at St. Malo. On the 18th, they arrived in Cherbourg by rail and rejoined the yacht. After a family consultation that evening, it was decided, if the *Alabama* should fight the *Kearsarge*, they would go out to witness the combat.

Sunday, the 19th of June, dawned bright and clear at Cherbourg, with a gentle breeze from the westward and a smooth sea. Quite early in the morning, before Semmes was up, an officer from the Port Admiral visited the *Alabama*, to inform her captain that the French ironclad *Couronne* would accompany him one league off shore, to see that no conflict took place within neutral limits.

There was the usual exodus of small sailing craft from the harbor after daylight, among them being two pilot-boats which later appeared on the scene of battle. There was no other evidence of activity in the early morning hours, except the raising of steam on the *Alabama*, *Couronne* and *Deerhound*.

As the breakfast hour passed, however, people began to assemble on the walls of the fortifications, on the shores and mole and on the heights overlooking the sea. At nine the *Deerhound* steamed slowly out, passing close to the *Alabama*, everybody on deck intently watching her, but without demonstration. Outside, the yacht stopped and waited. A little later, the *Couronne* weighed and steamed outside the mole.[1] About two leagues to seaward the *Kearsarge* lay, as she had for the past six days, waiting.

On the *Alabama*, every preparation having been completed the evening before, especial effort was made to avoid hurry and excitement in the morning. The crew was allowed more than the usual time for their breakfast and smoke, not being turned-to until nine o'clock.

Captain Semmes came up from his breakfast a little later than was his custom, and remarked pleasantly to the officer of the deck upon the good omen of a bright day, the neat appearance of the deck and the cheerful spirit of the crew. Finally he surprised that officer by asking him what he thought would be the outcome of the fight. Receiving a vague though loyal answer, he fell to pacing the quarterdeck while preparations were made for getting under way.

Between 9:30 and 10:00 o'clock the *Alabama* left her moorings, steamed out by the western entrance of the crowded harbor and stood toward her distant adversary, passing close to the waiting

[1] Some writers state that she left the harbor with the *Alabama*.

Deerhound. "General quarters" was sounded and the battery was pivoted to starboard and loaded, one 32-pounder being shifted from the port battery to a vacant port on the starboard quarterdeck. All this gave the ship quite a list to starboard. The men were then allowed to rest and smoke at their guns. Officers had been admonished to dress fully in the uniforms of their rank, and the crew was in uniform as for a Sunday inspection.

The *Couronne* accompanied the *Alabama* to a point three miles from shore and remained there throughout the action. The *Deerhound*, however, followed the Confederate cruiser, though not closely, to the scene of battle.

While approaching the *Kearsarge*, Semmes had his crew mustered aft, and from a gun-carriage delivered the following address :[1]

"Officers and seamen of the *Alabama* : You have at length another opportunity of meeting the enemy—the first that has been presented to you since you sank the *Hatteras*. In the meantime you have been all over the world, and it is not too much to say that you have destroyed and driven for protection under neutral flags one-half of the enemy's commerce, which, at the beginning of the war, covered every sea. This is an achievement of which you may well be proud, and a grateful country will not be unmindful of it. The name of your ship has become a household word wherever civilization extends. Shall that name be tarnished by defeat?" (Cries of "Never! never!") "The thing is impossible! Remember that you are in the English Channel, the theatre of so much of the naval glory of our race, and that the eyes of all Europe are at this moment upon you. The flag that floats over you is that

[1] Stated by some to have been read by the paymaster, or by the captain's clerk.

of a young Republic, who bids defiance to her enemies, whenever and wherever found. Show the world that you know how to uphold it! Go to your quarters!"

It is convenient to pause here and contrast the characteristics and fighting condition of the two vessels.

	KEARSARGE.	*ALABAMA.*
Displacement	1031 tons.	1016 tons.
Guns	Seven.	Eight.
Guns fought	Five.	Six.
Broadside	366 lbs.	296 lbs.
Rapidity of fire	Deliberate.	Rapid.
Speed with clean bottom.	Ten knots.	Twelve knots.
Condition of bottom	Clean.	Foul.
Complement	163 officers and men.	149 officers and men.
Protection	Sheet chains ranged abreast boilers.	Newly-filled bunkers abreast boilers.
Age of ship	2 yrs., 6 mos.	2 years.
Duty since commission	Cruising and blockade.	Continual cruising.
Previous actions	None.	One.
Result of actions		Complete victory.
Last target practice	April 15.	April 23.
Target	Improvised.	A ship at sea.
Ammunition used	35 rounds.	24 rounds.
Previous war experience of commanders	Mexican War.	Mexican War.
Preparedness for battle	Complete.	Complete.

It seems scarcely probable that two ships more equally matched will ever fight in single combat.

The officers of the *Kearsarge* were:

Commander,	John A. Winslow, Roxbury, Mass.
Lieutenant-Commander,	James S. Thornton.
Acting Master,	James R. Wheeler.
Acting Master,	E. M. Stoddard.
Acting Master,	David H. Sumner.
Midshipman,	E. F. Preble.
Chief Engineer,	William H. Cushman.
2d Assistant Engineer,	W. H. Badlam.
3d Assistant Engineer,	F. L. Miller.
3d Assistant Engineer,	S. L. Smith.
3d Assistant Engineer,	Henry McConnell.
Surgeon,	John M. Browne.
Paymaster,	J. A. Smith.

Those of the *Alabama* were:

Commander,	Raphael Semmes,	Maryland.
Lieutenant-Commander,	J. M. Kell,	Georgia.
Lieutenant,	R. F. Armstrong,	Georgia.
Lieutenant,	Jos. D. (M.?) Wilson,	Florida.
Lieutenant,	Arthur Sinclair,	Virginia.
Master,	I. S. Bullock,	Georgia.
Midshipman,	E. M. Anderson,	Georgia.
Midshipman,	E. A. Maffitt,	Georgia.
Chief Engineer,	M. J. Freeman,	Louisiana.
1st Assistant Engineer,	W. P. Brooks,	So. Carolina.
2d Assistant Engineer,	Matthew O'Brien,	Alabama.
3d Assistant Engineer,	John Pundt,	So. Carolina.
4th Assistant Engineer,	William Robertson,	England.
Lieutenant of Marines,	B. K. Howell,	Louisiana.
Surgeon and Acting Paymaster,	F. L. Galt,	Virginia.
Assistant Surgeon,	D. H. Llewelln,	England.

During the early morning of June 19, 1864, the *Kearsarge* was lying to, under half-steam, about three miles N.N.E. of Cherbourg breakwater. Toward ten

o'clock, as the morning haze dissipated, she steamed slowly seaward till about five or six miles off. From this position the breakwater could be plainly seen, but the haze still enshrouded the harbor and the shipping inside. That balmy Sunday seemed to promise nothing new for the waiting vessel. Captain Semmes, in his "challenge," had stated that he would delay only "a day or two" to make repairs rendered necessary by his long cruise. Five days had elapsed, however, without his moving, and it had begun to look like the same old tactics of the *Florida* at Brest. The eager waiters were losing hope, and the keen edge of anticipation had worn dull. At 10 A.M., Captain Winslow made the regulation Sunday inspection of ship and crew, and the only business of the day appeared to be the scrutiny of clean suits, bright decks, and neat lockers. Beneath this tranquil surface of peace routine, there was, however, an unseen readiness for battle. Below the holystoned decks every furnace was alive and every boiler ready to give steam to the engines. High above the heads of the mustering gun-crews were special lookouts intently watching, and behind the long ranks of Sunday-togged sailors every gun was loaded. The tranquillity was that of readiness — of complete preparation.

Inspection over, the quarterdeck was equipped for church, and services began, conducted by the captain.

Presently the chief quartermaster on the bridge began to examine intently with his long glass something toward Cherbourg. The alert executive

officer quietly left his place in the congregation and joined in the scrutiny.

The haze in the harbor was clearing, and a steam-yacht flying the white British ensign had come out and was standing to the northward. It was but an any-day maritime incident. The executive returned to his seat, and the momentary expectation subsided.

But the quartermaster continued to gaze, and soon came briskly down the port gangway till close behind those assembled for worship, and again levelled his glass over the rail toward Cherbourg. Almost immediately, he cried out :

"She 's coming !"

Winslow closed his service without ceremony, went quietly to the rail and took the glass. There indeed, was the *Alabama*, steaming rapidly toward him, accompanied by a French ironclad.

After more than a year of tempestuous cruising and blockade, of superirritating diplomatic wrangle, of physical wear and tear, and of bitter disappointment, a reward for his indomitable perseverance was at last in sight, greater than he had ever anticipated. The greatest of Confederate commerce destroyers had been brought to bay, and forced to an open fight. She had captured sixty-eight vessels under the Stars and Stripes, and had sunk one man-of-war. She had been sought in vain by twenty-five United States warships, and her pursuit had cost over seven millions of dollars. Besides this, there was a personality in the coming encounter : her captain had been Winslow's shipmate, messmate and roommate during a previous war, and his

daring, skill and bravery then had well-nigh made him a hero in the eyes of the more modest man. Can it be doubted that, when Winslow focused his glass upon the oncoming *Alabama*, he realized that the supreme moment of his life was at hand? Returning the glass to the quartermaster, he quietly directed his executive to beat to quarters.

For five days he had given most deliberative thought to this encounter; no contingency seems to have been overlooked. First, it was desirable to select a position, not merely outside neutral waters, but well outside, as had been suggested by the following letter:

"PARIS, *June 16, 1864.*

"SIR:

"This will be delivered to you by my son and assistant secretary of legation. I have had a conversation this afternoon with Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, minister of foreign affairs. He says they have given the *Alabama* notice that she must leave Cherbourg, but in the meantime you have come in and are watching the *Alabama*, and that this vessel is anxious to meet you, and he supposes you will attack her as soon as she gets three miles off the coast; that this will produce a fight which will be at best a fight in waters which may or may not be French waters, as accident may determine; that this would be offensive to the dignity of France to have a fight under such circumstances, and France will not permit it; that the *Alabama* shall not attack you, nor you her, within the 3 miles, nor on or about that distance off.

"Under such circumstances I do not suppose that they would have, on principles of international law, the least right to interfere with you if 3 miles off the coast, but if you lose nothing by fighting 6 or 7 miles off the coast instead of 3 you had best do so. You know better than I (who have little or no knowledge of the relative strength of the two vessels)

whether the pretense of the *Alabama* of a readiness to meet you is more than a pretense, and I do not wish you to sacrifice any advantage if you have it. I suggest only that you avoid all unnecessary trouble with France, you know what the Government would expect of you. You will of course yield no real advantage to which you are entitled, while you are careful to so act as to make uselessly no unnecessary complications with this Government. I ought to add that Mr. Seward's dispatch, dated 20th May, 1864, was in the following words:

"'The *Niagara* will proceed with as much dispatch as possible to cruise in European waters, and the *Dictator*, as soon as she shall be ready for sea (which is expected to be quite soon), will follow her, unless in the meantime advices from yourself and Mr. Adams shall be deemed to furnish reasons for a change of purpose in that respect.'

"That you may understand exactly the condition of things here in regard to the *Alabama*, I send you herewith a copy of a communication from the minister of marine to the naval prefect at Cherbourg, furnished me by the minister of foreign affairs.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. L. Dayton.

"Captain Winslow,

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge.*'"

Accordingly, when it was certain that the *Alabama* was seeking an encounter, the *Kearsarge* was headed seaward. In moving a few miles in that direction, Winslow was also insuring time for full steam to form in all the boilers. At the same time, by the captain's order, a national flag[1] was run up to the main truck "in stops," to be unfurled in case the one at the peak was shot away. It was the only additional preparation necessary.

[1] This flag was unfurled on the new battleship *Kearsarge* when she was launched.

Then, for a few minutes, Captain Winslow retired to his cabin. No Christian man who has ever been in battle can doubt how those few minutes were spent. When he reappeared, it was noted that he had exchanged a new cap for an old one, only worn in bad weather. The exchange was probably an instinctive act, showing the mind prepared to battle with shot and shell, even as it had been so often in the past to battle with wind and waves.

At 10:50, upon being assured that he was about seven miles from land, Winslow ordered the *Kearsarge* headed directly for the *Alabama.* With glasses in hand, he got upon an arm-chest on the quarterdeck, well aft and close to the starboard bulwarks, where he remained throughout the action. This could not have been an accidental selection, for those familiar with the *Kearsarge* as she then was,—with a flush deck aft,—will readily see that the position was an ideal one for the commanding officer. With half his body above the rail, he had a perfect view of his adversary, and was himself in plain view of the helmsmen and the men at the battery. Within easy range of his voice were the quartermaster at the wheel, the officer at the engine hatch bell, and the officers directing the fire of the guns.

The two ships, at full speed, rapidly neared each other. At 10:57, when they were about a mile apart, the *Alabama* seemed to slow down, then sheered to port and fired her starboard broadside. The shell hurtled high above the *Kearsarge*, and

a foretopmast backstay parted like a snapped bowstring. No reply was made, not even a change of course, for here again forethought had entered in. The *Alabama's* guns had the greater range, those of the *Kearsarge* the heavier calibre. If a range could be chosen where the latter would be effective, the advantage for the former would disappear. Moreover, Winslow had been much impressed with the structural strength of the *Kearsarge* for ramming purposes when the pilot at Ostend had run her, bows-on, into the pier, so he even contemplated, should opportunity warrant it, running his adversary down, having, as we have seen, carefully drilled his men to repel boarders in such a contingency.

Again the *Alabama* yawed, and a second broadside was delivered. This unexpected rapidity of fire made it dangerous for the *Kearsarge* to continue her end-on approach, for any chance hit was liable to rake her decks; so, with all available guns pointed to starboard, she sheered to port and drew off on the *Alabama's* bow, receiving, as she did so, part of a third broadside. At eleven o'clock the *Kearsarge's* forecastle gun was fired to get the range, and the action became general as the ships drew abreast, the fire of the *Kearsarge* almost immediately taking effect, while that of the *Alabama* continued rapid and wild.

Conning his ship calmly by motion of hand, Captain Winslow ported the helm to run under the *Alabama's* stern. It was his purpose now to rake his adversary, then range up on her port side and

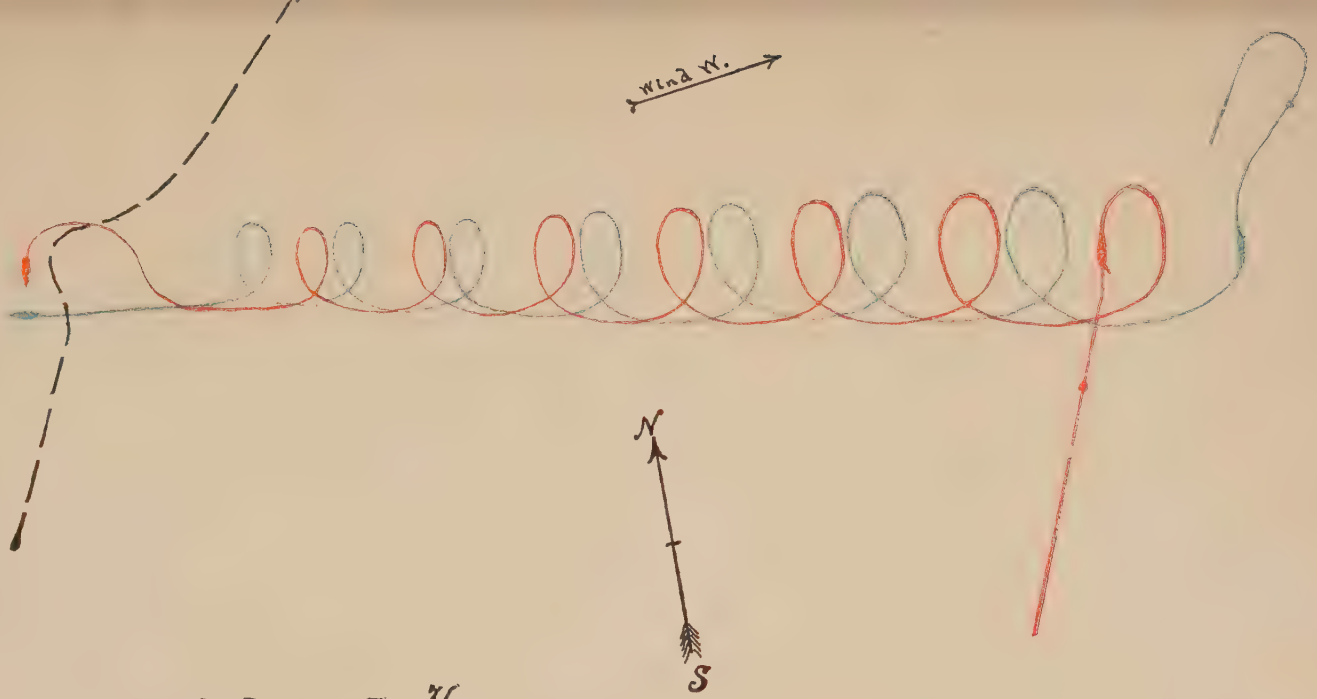


DIAGRAM OF KEARSARGE-ALABAMA COMBAT

engage in a running fight to seaward, forcing the *Alabama* continually off shore until the best ship won ; but his alert opponent, to avoid being raked, also put his helm hard aport. Thus the two ships fell to steaming around in a circle on opposite headings, broadside to broadside, and at full speed, both drifting westward with a three-knot current, while gradually shortening the range from 900 to 500 yards.

It soon became apparent to Winslow that although his manœuvre had resulted differently from what he expected, it had forced upon his adversary a course of action from which he could not diverge without the risk of his ship being raked, and which therefore kept him from drawing toward the neutral waters which might give her shelter if crippled.

The fire of the *Kearsarge's* guns was controlled by a most admirable discipline. Ranges were carefully estimated, the sighting was deliberate, and the passing of smoke was awaited with patience. The characteristics of the man who commanded her seemed to have imbued the whole ship's company.

Before going into the details of this memorable sea fight, it will be instructive to note the distribution of the personnel on the two ships.

The fighting force of the *Kearsarge* was divided into three gun divisions, a powder division, and a master's division. The First Division, commanded by Acting Master James R. Wheeler, included the forward 11-inch pivot-gun, and the 28-pound rifle on the topgallant forecastle. The latter, which fired the first shot from the Federal vessel, and was

used as a range finder, was manned by the marines under the immediate charge of Acting Master's Mate Charles H. Danforth. The Second Division was stationed at the after 11-inch pivot, commanded by Acting Master E. M. Stoddard. The Third Division included the four 32-pounders in the waist of the ship, commanded by Acting Master D. H. Sumner. The Master's Division, engaged in the navigating duties of the ship, and in noting, reporting, and repairing damages, was in charge of Midshipman E. F. Preble. Men from this division were also detailed for the 12-pounder howitzer under the forecastle, but, although frequently fired, this gun was never really in action.

Chief Engineer Cushman had general charge of his department. Assistant Engineer Badlam was in charge of the engines and Assistant Engineer Miller in charge of the boilers, while Assistant Engineer McConnell was stationed on deck at the engine bells. An excellent and important feature was that of specially detailing an engineer officer, Mr. Smith, to take charge of the fire hose during the action. The shell supply was conducted by Acting Master's Mate Ezra Bartlett, and the powder supply by Gunner F. A. Graham, but Lieutenant Commander Thornton, the executive officer, states in his official report: "The powder division received my particular attention, and its important service was promptly and thoroughly rendered." Further extracts from Mr. Thornton's very complete battle report to the captain give some idea of Winslow's thorough control of the various fight-

ing elements. Thornton says: "It is unnecessary for me to call your attention to the officers commanding the gun or master's divisions, as their duty was performed under your own eye. . . .

"In conclusion, sir, let me congratulate you on the success of your plan of battle, and compliment you on the skill and judgment displayed in its execution."

Of the disposition of the personnel on the *Alabama*, there is not much official detail; the general disposition of forces must have been almost identical with that on the *Kearsarge*, for the deck plans of the two ships differed in no essential particular. There were raised "horse blocks" well aft on the *Alabama's* quarterdeck, and the one on the starboard side was occupied by Captain Semmes, glasses in hand, during the greater part of the action, although in the early part he is described as being just forward of the starboard fore-rigging. First Lieutenant Kell is mentioned as moving from point to point, giving a good deal of individual admonition and advice, watching closely the injuries to his ship, and sometimes the movements of the *Kearsarge*. Nevertheless, the gun pointers seem to have been left very much to themselves, and a general lack of control of fire evidently prevailed. No attempt or preparation appears to have been made to stop the shot-holes at the waterline, and these became the mortal wounds of the ship. The natural fortitude of the crew, with a very few exceptions, was remarkably good, and, in several instances, an admirable resourcefulness in emergency was shown by men and officers.

Almost the first gun from the *Kearsarge* produced casualty. The shell entered near the forward pivot port, crushing the leg of a tackleman, struck the slide rack of the gun and glanced off, killing a man at another gun. Quite an interval then elapsed without injury on either side. At about 11:15, the *Alabama's* spanker gaff swung downward with a crash, and hung in a tangle of gear, trailing the flag beside the mast about twenty feet above her deck. This grim battle-omen received a cheer from the *Kearsarge*, but a new ensign was quickly broken at the *Alabama's* mizzenmasthead. Then, for a few minutes, the *Alabama* got the range, and seemed to have the best of the fight. A 100-pound shell crashed into the *Kearsarge* amidships. The Confederates thought it had penetrated her boilers, and cheered wildly, but it was a little wide of the mark, and passed quite harmlessly through the engine-room skylight. The next 100-pounder, striking under the *Kearsarge's* counter, glanced and lodged in her sternpost, but did not explode. Almost immediately afterward — about eighteen minutes after eleven — a 68-pounder Blakely shell passed through the *Kearsarge's* starboard bulwarks, below the main rigging, and exploded on the quarterdeck, wounding three of the after pivot-gun's crew. Wm. Gowin, ordinary seaman, had his right leg crushed, and afterward died from the wound in Cherbourg Hospital. J. W. Dempsey, quarter gunner, had his right arm so badly mangled that it was amputated immediately after the action. J. Macbeth had his left thigh broken. Although a scream of agony

followed the explosion of the shell, all the men refused assistance from their companions, and walked or dragged themselves to the fore hatch, where they were assisted to the operating table. The conduct of Gowin, during his trying ordeal, gives the keynote to the spirit animating the *Kearsarge's* crew. Surgeon Browne, in his report, says: "Gowin was brought with a smile upon his face, although suffering acutely from his injury. He said, 'It is all right, and I am satisfied, for we are whipping the Alabama,' adding, 'I willingly will lose my leg or life, if it is necessary.' During the progress of the action he comforted his suffering comrades by assuring them that 'Victory is ours!' Whenever the guns' crews cheered at the successful effect of their shot, Gowin would wave his hand over his head and join in the shout."

Meanwhile, another 100-pound shell exploded in the *Kearsarge's* smokestack, tearing an enormous rent. Then two shot entered the 32-pounder ports, but, strangely, missed the gun's crew. One of them, however, exploded in the opposite hammock netting and set fire to it, but with the admirable preparation for this emergency, it was child's play to extinguish the flames.

During these few critical minutes, the thorough discipline, drill and *esprit* on board the *Kearsarge* was her chief safeguard, for, at a time when the gunners might have been expected to get demoralized, their gun-pointing steadily improved. Heretofore it had been a little high; the injuries to the *Alabama*, barring one man killed and two wounded,

were a mainmast pierced and a gaff shot away. Now, shells commenced to tear through her bulwarks, wounding many with splinters. Then the after pivot-gun, which was doing such accurate work upon the Federal vessel, was struck by a shell, and the eighteen men in the gun's crew, excepting the compresserman, were all killed or wounded. The after 32-pounder was then secured, and its crew transferred to the pivot-gun, but the demoralization was complete, and that gun did no further damage. About the same time, the forward pivot crew received a shell in its midst, and a man was killed and several wounded. Midshipman Anderson was literally blown to pieces, only a leg being left on board.

It must have been at this time that, as Winslow states, the marksmen of the *Kearsarge* were cautioned to aim a little below the *Alabama's* waterline rather than above it; for she was soon repeatedly hulled, the shells exploding between decks and ripping holes in the spar deck above. One shell damaged the rudder, and relieving tackles had to be used for steering.

The second half of the action was now well advanced. Shell after shell from the 11-inch pivots was crashing into the *Alabama*, while her shot were flying wild and high. No ship could stand such punishment long. Semmes was getting desperate. He is said to have offered a large reward to the man who would silence the *Kearsarge's* after pivot.

Suddenly the Stars and Stripes unfurled at the

Kearsarge's main truck; a chance shot from the *Alabama* had cut the stops, and this second battle-omen was greeted with cheers from the winning crew. The two ships were now making their seventh circle, and were scarcely five hundred yards apart. The *Kearsarge* had gradually gained on her adversary, and was drawing toward the same quadrant of the circle; tending to make her movement one of pursuit. Winslow — resolute, tenacious and patient — believed, as he afterward stated in a letter, that "the time for close action was about to begin," and ordered grape provided at the guns. But the *Alabama* was already mortally wounded; two 11-inch shells had pierced her at the waterline, tearing completely through the bunkers, and letting water into the very heart of the ship. Kell, after an inspection, reported her sinking.

Semmes shifted his helm to turn toward the shore. Winslow righted his, passing under the *Alabama's* stern and ranging up on her port side. The *Alabama's* head sails were set to pay her off on a new tack, as she was settling and sluggish; the remnant of her decimated crew was disheartened and exhausted; the pivot-guns could not be shifted, and only two 32's now bore on her adversary, which was still mercilessly hulling her. Captain Semmes now hauled down his colors, and the *Kearsarge* was stopped, and ceased firing. Almost immediately, however, by some chance never expained, the *Alabama's* port guns were again fired, whereupon Winslow opened on her again and

steamed into a raking position across her bows. Then a white flag was held up over the Confederate vessel's stern, and, at 12:02, she was seen to be getting out her boats.

Eight minutes later a boat arrived alongside the *Kearsarge* with a Confederate officer and twenty wounded men. The officer stated that the *Alabama* had surrendered and was sinking, and that Captain Semmes asked for assistance. Winslow at once commenced to get out his boats, when it was found that only two, and those the least accessible, — the sailing launch and second cutter — were uninjured. The Confederate officer was therefore paroled as soon as the wounded were taken on board, and he and his boat sent to rescue his shipmates. He subsequently went to the *Deerhound* and never returned to custody.

Throughout the action, the *Couronne* had remained on guard at the three-mile limit, and the *Deerhound* had kept about a mile to windward of the combatants. The latter was now steamed under the *Kearsarge's* stern, whereupon Captain Winslow hailed her and asked her to rescue the drowning, for the *Alabama* was already wallowing with her quarterdeck awash. The *Deerhound* steamed at once toward the sinking vessel, got out boats, and commenced picking up men from the water.

At 12:24 the *Alabama's* stern went under. Her bow rose high in the air, and her riddled mainmast broke and fell over her side; then she slid quickly down beneath the waves.

Three of the *Alabama's* boats, two boats from the *Kearsarge*, and two from the *Deerhound* were now engaged in picking up the hundred and odd men struggling in the water. Two French pilot-boats also arrived on the scene and participated. One of these delivered the rescued on board of the *Kearsarge*, but the other took three officers and six men to Cherbourg.

While a great number were still struggling in the water, the *Deerhound* was observed to have recalled her boats and edged far to leeward. Two or three times suspicious subordinates warned Winslow that she seemed to be making off, but he refused to believe it until she was seen to be actually steaming toward Southampton at full speed. It was afterward learned that she carried Captain Semmes, Lieutenant Kell and eleven other officers, and twenty-nine of the *Alabama's* crew.

Fifty prisoners, including six officers, in addition to the wounded, were placed on board the *Kearsarge* by the boats engaged in rescue. Of that buoyant and confident crew which had gone from Cherbourg with such *éclat* in the morning the grim record stood as follows:

26 killed and drowned.
3 dying from wounds on the *Kearsarge*.
17 wounded and prisoners on the *Kearsarge*.
50 additional prisoners on the *Kearsarge*.
42 escaped to Southampton on the *Deerhound*.
9 escaped to Cherbourg on a French pilot-boat.

Total, 147

At about one o'clock the *Kearsarge* hoisted in

her boats, with the three belonging to the *Alabama*, and steamed toward Cherbourg. All hands were then called to muster, and the service interrupted in the morning was concluded by an offer of thanksgiving to God for the victory. At three o'clock the waiting throng that had watched the *Alabama* depart in the forenoon gazed with awe upon the *Kearsarge* as she entered the harbor flying from every masthead the flags of victory.

The story of the fight, officially told, is as follows:

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE, *June 19, 1864—Afternoon.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department that the day subsequent to the arrival of the *Kearsarge* off this port, on the 14th instant, I received a note from Captain Semmes, begging that the *Kearsarge* would not depart, as he intended to fight her and would not delay her but a day or two.

"According to this notice, the *Alabama* left the port of Cherbourg this morning at about 9:30 o'clock.

"At 10:20 A.M. we discovered her steaming toward us. Fearing the question of jurisdiction might arise, we steamed to sea until a distance of 6 or 7 miles was attained from the Cherbourg breakwater, when we rounded to and commenced steaming for the *Alabama*. As we approached her within about 1,200 yards she opened fire, we receiving two or three broadsides before a shot was returned The action continued, the respective steamers making a circle round and round at a distance of about 900 yards from each other. At the expiration of an hour the *Alabama* struck, going down in about twenty minutes afterwards, and carrying many persons with her.

"It affords me great gratification to announce to the Department that every officer and man did his duty, exhibiting a degree of coolness and fortitude which gave promise at the outset of certain victory.

"I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant, "JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,

"*Secretary of the Navy*, Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'

"CHERBOURG, FRANCE, *June 20, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I enclose herewith the surgeon's report of the casualties on board this vessel in the late action with the *Alabama*. Although we received some twenty-five or thirty shots, twelve or thirteen taking effect in the hull, by the mercy of God we have been spared the loss of any one life, whereas in the case of the *Alabama* the carnage, I learn, was dreadful.

"The ships were about equal in match, the tonnage being the same; the *Alabama* carrying one 100-pound rifle, with one heavy 68-pounder and six broadside 32-pounders; the *Kearsarge* carrying four broadside 32-pounders and two 11-inch and one 28-pound rifle, one gun less than the *Alabama*.

"The only shot which I fear will give us any trouble is one 100-pound rifle, which entered our sternpost and remains at present unexploded.

"It would seem almost invidious to particularise the conduct of any one man or officer in which all had done their duty with a fortitude and coolness which cannot be too highly praised, but I feel it due to my executive officer, Lieutenant-Commander Thornton, who superintended the working of the battery, to particularly mention him for an example of coolness and encouragement of the men while fighting, which contributed much toward the success of the action.

"I have the honor be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, "JNO. A. WINSLOW,

"*Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,

"*Secretary of the Navy*, Washington, D. C."

The *Kearsarge* was hit fourteen times in the hull, and as many more in the rigging, as shown by the following report:

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"CHERBOURG, *June 20, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I respectfully submit to you a statement of injuries sustained by the U. S. S. *Kearsarge* in her hull, sails, rigging, etc., during our late engagement with the rebel steamer *Alabama*, on the 19th instant, off this port:

IN HULL.

1 shot in starboard gangway, cut chain and bruised plank.
1 shell under waist gun, cut chain and exploded, cutting outside planking.
1 shell under starboard main channel, cut off chain plate, going through and exploding.
1 32-pounder solid shot entered forward of forward pivot port; shot lodged inside, crushing waterways.
1 100-pounder rifle shell lodged in sternpost.
1 shell through top of engine house.
1 shell through port netting abreast main rigging.
1 shot and 2 shells through port netting forward of mizzen rigging.
1 shell through smokestack, exploding inside stack.
2 shots through taffrail.
1 shot through netting forward of mizzen rigging on starboard inside.

IN SAILS.

Spanker, badly torn by shell.

IN RIGGING.

Fore-topmast backstay cut away.
1 shroud in main rigging cut away.
1 screw in port main rigging.
Starboard maintopmast backstay cut away.
After shroud, starboard side of the maintopmast rigging.
Starboard swifter of mizzen rigging.
1 screw in port main rigging.
1 plate in starboard main channels.

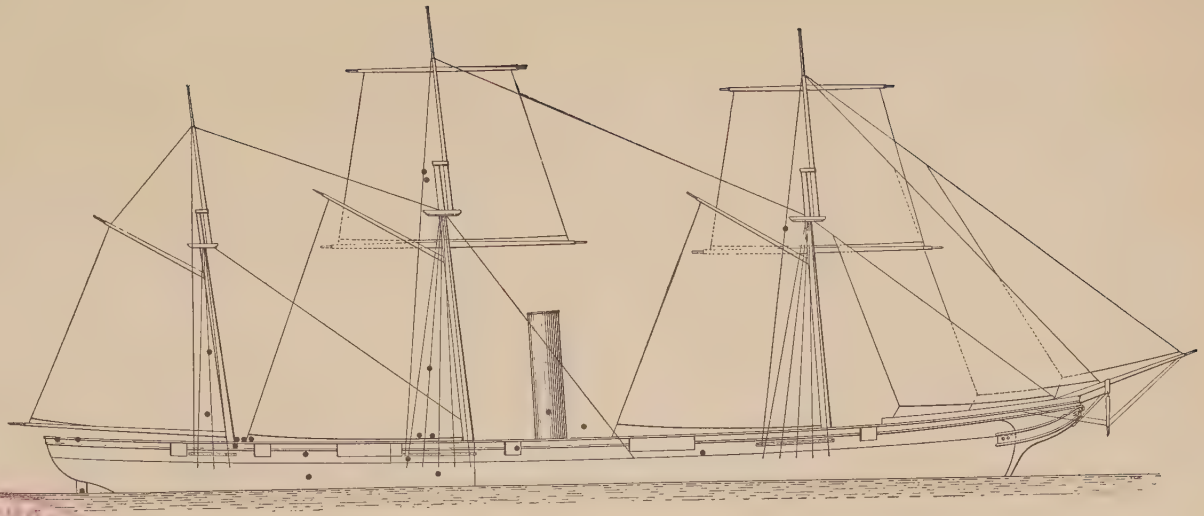
BOATS.

Third cutter, 1 shot through bottom, starboard gunwale shot away.
Gig, badly shattered.

"The spars all in good order.

"Respectfully,
"J. C. WALTON, *Boatswain.*

"J. S. THORNTON,
"*Lieutenant-Commander and Executive Officer.*



U.S.S.KEARSARGE.

"Number of shot and shell struck the ship in various places, 28."

The gunner's report of ammunition expended is also interesting:

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"CHERBOURG, *June 20, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I respectfully submit the following report of the expenditure of ordnance stores on board this ship during the engagement with the rebel steamer *Alabama* on the 19th instant:

55 15-pound service charges.
55 11-inch 5-second shell.
60 6-pound service charges.
18 32-pound 5-second shell.
42 32-pound solid shot.
48 2½-pound service charges, rifle.
48 rifle percussion shell.
100 friction primers.
240 percussion primers.
Fixed ammunition for boat howitzer:
9 shrapnel, Bormann fused;
1 canister.

RECAPITULATION.

Duration of action.....65 minutes.
Number of Rounds:

11-inch	55
32-pounder	60
32-pounder rifle	48
12-pound howitzer	10
Total rounds	173

"Very respectfully,
"FRANKLIN A. GRAHAM,
"*Gunner, U. S. S. 'Kearsarge.*

"JAS. S. THORNTON,
"*Lieutenant-Commander and Executive Officer.*"

Estimates by those in charge of the *Alabama's* ammunition place her expenditures at 370 shot and shell.

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"ENGLISH CHANNEL,
"*July 30th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"The despatch of the Department of the 8th inst., calling for information of the *Alabama's* armament and complement of officers and men, and also of the proceedings of the *Deerhound* has been received.

"I have the honor to inform the Department that according to a memorandum handed to me by American captains who were prisoners in the *Alabama*, that she carried into Cherbourg a crew, officers and men, of either 147 or 149; but what number joined her there, I have no means of ascertaining. Several persons were prevented by the police at Cherbourg from going on board, but it appears that Mr. Sinclair (Lieutenant) was one of those who succeeded in joining her.

"The rebel officers state their crew, officers and men, to have been about 150, I have no means of either falsifying or verifying these statements, but the American captains who were prisoners respond that 13 men had been left at one port and 4 at another before the arrival of the vessel at Cherbourg and her complement therefore when filled was about 170 all told.

"The statement of some of the prisoners is that a number of men came on board at Cherbourg, and the night before the action, that boats were going to and fro from the *Alabama* to the *Deerhound* and in the morning they saw strange men who were made captains of guns, who were supposed to be Naval reserve men, brought in the *Deerhound*.

"In my despatch of the 19th ult. I informed the Department that the battery of Alabama consisted of one one hundred pounder rifled pivot, one heavy sixty-eight pounder (9000 lbs.), and six thirty-two pounder guns.

. . . . . .

"I am Sir

"Very respectfully

"Your obedient servant

"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES

"*Secretary of the Navy*,

"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'

"ENGLISH CHANNEL,

"*July 30th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"In obedience to instructions of the Department, I have the honor to make the following supplementary report of the

action between the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama*. On the morning of the 19th ult., the day being fine, with a hazy atmosphere, wind moderate from the westward, at 10 o'clock, was near the buoy, which marks the line of shoals to the eastward of Cherbourg; and distant about three miles from the eastern entrance which bore to the southward and westward. At twenty minutes after 10 o'clock, the *Alabama* was descried coming out of the western entrance; accompanied by the *Couronne* (Iron Clad). I had in an interview with the Admiral at Cherbourg, assured him that in the event of an action occurring with the *Alabama*, that the position of the ships should be so far off shore, that no questions could be advanced about the line of jurisdiction. Accordingly, to perfect this object, and with the double purpose of drawing the *Alabama* so far off shore that, if disabled she could not return, I directed the ship's head seaward and cleared for action with the battery pivoted to starboard. Having attained a point about seven miles from the shore, the head of the *Kearsarge* was turned short round, and the ship steered directly for the *Alabama*. My purpose being to run her down, or if circumstnces did not warrant it, to close in with her. Hardly had the *Kearsarge* come round before the *Alabama* sheered, presented her starboard battery, and slowed her engines. On approaching her at long range of about a mile she opened her full broadsides, the shot cutting some of our rigging, and going over and alongside of us.

"Immediately I ordered more speed, but in two minutes the *Alabama* had loaded and again fired another broadside, and following it with a third, without damaging us except in rigging. We had now arrived within about nine hundred yards of her, and I was apprehensive that another broadside, nearly raking as it was, would prove disastrous. Accordingly, I ordered the *Kearsarge* sheered, and opened on the *Alabama*. The position of the vessels was now broadside and broadside, but it was soon apparent that Captain Semmes did not seek close action. I became then fearful lest after some fighting, that he would again make for the shore. To defeat this, I determined to keep full speed on, and with a port helm to run

under the stern of the *Alabama* and rake, if he did not prevent it by sheering and keeping his broadside to us. He adopted this mode as a preventative, and as a consequence, the *Alabama* was forced, with a full head of steam, into a circular track during the engagement.

"The effect of this manœuvre was such, that at the last of the action, when the *Alabama* would have made off, she was near five miles from the shore, and had the action continued from the first, in parallel lines, with her head in shore, the line of jurisdiction would no doubt have been reached.

"The firing of the *Alabama* from the first was rapid and wild, towards the close of the action, her firing became better. Our men, who had been cautioned against rapid firing without direct aim, were much more deliberate, and the instructions given to point the heavy guns below, rather than above the water line, and clear the deck with the lighter ones, was fully observed.

"I had endeavored with a port helm to close in with the *Alabama*, but it was not until just before the close of the action that we were in position to use grape, this was avoided, however, by her surrender. The effect of the training of our men was evident, nearly every shot from our guns was telling fearfully on the *Alabama*, and on the seventh rotation on the circular track, she winded, setting fore trysail and two jibs, with head in shore.

"Her speed was now retarded, and by winding, her port broadside was presented to us, with only two guns bearing; not having been able, as I learned afterwards, to shift over but one. I saw now that she was at our mercy, and a few more guns, well directed, brought down her flag. I was unable to ascertain whether they had been hauled down or shot away, but a white flag having been displayed over the stern, followed by two guns fired to leeward, our fire was reserved; two minutes had not more than elapsed before she again opened on us with the two guns on the port side. This drew our fire again and the *Kearsarge* was immediately steamed ahead and laid across her bows for raking. The white flag was still flying and our fire was again reserved.

Shortly after this, her boats were seen to be lowering, and an officer in one of them came alongside and informed us the ship had surrendered and was fast sinking. In twenty minutes from this time, the *Alabama* went down, her mainmast, which had received a shot, breaking near the head, as she sunk; and her bow rising high out of the water, as her stern rapidly settled. The fire of the *Alabama*, though it is stated that she discharged 370 or more shell and shot, was not of serious damage to the *Kearsarge*. Some thirteen or fourteen of these had taken effect in and about the hull, and sixteen or seventeen about the mast and rigging. The casualties were small, only three persons having been wounded, yet it is a matter of surprise that so few were injured, considering the number of projectiles that came aboard. Two shot passed through the port in which the thirty-twos were placed, with men thickly stationed around them, one taking effect in the hammock netting, and the other going through the port on the opposite side; yet no one was hit, the captain of one of the guns being only knocked down, by the wind of the shot, as was supposed. The fire of the *Kearsarge*, although only (173) one hundred and seventy-three projectiles had been discharged, according to the prisoner's accounts, was terrific. One shot alone had killed and wounded eighteen men and disabled the gun; another had entered the coal bunkers, exploding, and completely blocked up the engine-room; and Captain Semmes states, shot and shell had taken effect in the sides of his vessel, tearing large holes by explosion, and his men were everywhere knocked down.

"Of the casualties on the *Alabama*, no correct account can be given. One hundred and fifteen persons reached the shore, either in England or France, after the action. It is known that the *Alabama* carried a crew, officers and men, of about (150) one hundred and fifty into Cherbourg, and that while in the Southern Ocean, that her complement was about one hundred and seventy, but desertions had reduced this complement.

"The prisoners state that a number of men came on board at Cherbourg; and the night before the action, boats were

going to and fro; and in the morning strange men were seen, who were stationed as captains of the guns. Among these there was one Lieutenant (Sinclair) who joined her at Cherbourg.

"The *Alabama* had been five days in preparation; she had taken in 350 tons of coal, which brought her down into the water. The *Kearsarge* had only 120 tons in; but, as an offset to this, her sheet chains were stowed outside, stopped up and down, as an additional preventive and protection to her more empty bunkers. The number of the crew of the *Kearsarge*, including officers and sick men, was one hundred and sixty-three, and her battery numbered seven guns, two eleven inch, one thirty pounder rifle, and four light thirty-two pounder guns.

"The battery of the *Alabama* numbered eight guns; one heavy sixty-eight of 9000 lbs., one, one hundred and ten pounder rifle, and six heavy thirty-two pounder guns.

"In the engagement the *Alabama* fought seven guns and the Kearsarge five, both exercising the starboard battery, until the *Alabama* winded, using her port battery, with one gun, and another, shifted over.

"The collateral events connected with this action have already been laid before the Department.

"I enclose a diagram showing the track, which was described during the engagement, by the rotary course of the vessels.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant
"Jno. A. Winslow, *Captain.*

"Hon. Gideon Welles,
"*Secretary of the Navy*
"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"Cherbourg, France,
"*June 25th, 1864.*

"Sir:

"I have the honor to enclose herewith a list of the names of the men who during the engagement of the *Alabama* and

Kearsarge exhibited marked coolness and good conduct and for such have been recommended by the divisional commanders as deserving special reference to.

"It affords me pleasure to report that William Smith, Q.M., was captain of the 11-inch gun which according to the rebel accounts, did such execution that a reward was offered by Captain Semmes to silence his gun.

"Smith is well worthy both from education and otherwise to the appointment of a Master's Mate.

"Jno. F. Bickford, who during the engagement and from long exampled good conduct and also education is entitled to this reward. Both of these men are so highly spoken of by the officers that it is but their due that my report should refer in a special manner to them.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

"P. S.—I omitted to state that the Carpenter's Mate of this vessel, Mark G. Ham, of Portsmouth, is most particularly recommended for promotion by the Executive officer. He is in my opinion fully entitled to it, from his conduct in the action, but *not* more than from his faithful and ever willing performance of duty during the cruise."

"Enc. No. 18.

"James Haley, C.F.
"Jno. B. Bickford, Cox.
"Chas. A. Read, Cox.
"Edward Wilt.
"Wm. Smith, Q.M.
"Wm. Bond, B.M.
"Charles Moore, Sea.
"Geo. Harrison, Sea.
"Thos. Perry, B.M.

" John Hayes, Cox.
" Geo. E. Read, Sea.
" Robert Strahan, C.T.
" James H. Lee, Sea.
" Joachim Pease, Sea., Colored.
" Wm. B. Poole, Q.M.
" Michael Ahearn, Paymaster's Stewd.
" Mark G. Ham, Carpenter's Mate."

The unfurling of the flag at the *Kearsarge's* mainmasthead is described by Winslow in a private letter:

" As soon as the *Alabama* was discovered coming out of the harbor of Cherbourg, and I became satisfied that the challenge of Semmes was no idle boast, I gave the order to Lieut.-Commander Thornton to clear ship for action, set the colors at the gaff, and round up ensigns to the mast-heads, without breaking stops. The object I explained to him, was in the event of the *Alabama's* shooting away one or two of the flags we would have others to set immediately.

" The action commenced and continued, until the last gun of the *Alabama* was fired, and but one flag (which was at the gaff) flying on board the *Kearsarge*. The last gun fired by the *Alabama* broke the stop of the flag at the mainmast head of the *Kearsarge* and unfurled the flag to the breeze.

" The missive sped announcing the *Alabama* conquered, and setting the flag of victory on board the *Kearsarge*."

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONDUCT OF THE *DEERHOUND*.

THE escape of Semmes and others in the *Deerhound* was, for the moment, a source of great mortification to Winslow. Southern sympathizers gloated over it as marring the *Kearsarge's* victory, and the Federals magnified this by a good deal of thoughtless wailing. The action of the owner of the yacht laid him open so strongly to suspicion as an accomplice by prearrangement that his memory is not yet wholly free from it. As a matter of fact, borne out by subsequent events, the fate of Semmes was a cipher in the result, and his ignominious escape after hauling down his flag and surrendering his vessel was discreditable only to himself. It is the writer's belief that the following letters tell the whole story concerning the participation of the *Deerhound* in the closing scenes of the battle:

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"CHERBOURG, *June 20, 1864.*

" . . . I have no time to write except to say that I wrote you from Dover we were after the *Alabama*. Semmes sent me a challenge immediately on my arrival, and so the *Alabama's* fate has been sealed. God be thanked that all is

well, and to him be all the praise and glory. You will doubtless see by the letters published how the action went. Our boats were nearly all shot away, and I hailed an English yacht to go down and help save the drowning. The officer who came to surrender was taken off with Semmes and other officers to England. The yacht is named the *Deerhound*. I shall publish him as disgracing his flag. Had I deemed him mean enough to have done it, I would have opened my guns upon him. The French pilots took up some of the men and carried them to Cherbourg. . . . "

Mr. Lancaster to Earl Russell, July 16, 1864:

" At half past 12 o'clock we observed the *Alabama* to be disabled and in a sinking state; and as I saw that no boats were being lowered from the *Kearsarge* to save the crew of the sinking ship, it occurred to me that the *Kearsarge* also must be disabled, and that her crew must be unable to help the people of the *Alabama*. Under this impression I felt it my duty to make towards the *Kearsarge* in order to offer assistance; and, when within hail of that vessel, I called out and asked whether I could afford them any help, and the answer was, ' No, but for God's sake do what you can to save them! ' We immediately pushed towards the *Alabama*, and when within a distance of 200 yards she sank. This occurred at 12.50. We then lowered our two boats, and with the assistance of the *Alabama's* whaleboat and dingy, succeeded in saving about forty men, including Captain Semmes and thirteen officers. At 1 P.M. we steered for Southampton.

" I acknowledge, my Lord, that in leaving the scene of action so quickly I was animated with a wish to save from captivity Captain Semmes and the others whom we had rescued from drowning; but I should have done the same for the people of the *Kearsarge* if they had been placed in similar jeopardy. I am charged with having aided in the escape of men who ' had surrendered themselves prisoners of war,' but I did not know at the time that they had so surrendered. Whether, under the circumstances, they could be justly considered ' prisoners of war,' is a question which I will not pre-

sume now to discuss, inasmuch as it is not necessary for my justification. At the time when I rescued Captain Semmes and others from the water I had the warrant for so doing in the request from the Captain of the *Kearsarge* that I would render them assistance. That request was not accompanied with any condition or stipulation; and therefore, having got as many of the drowning men on board as I could reach, I was not conscious of being under any obligation to consult the Captain of the *Kearsarge* as to their disposal, and I took them as soon as possible to Southampton in compliance with their own earnest entreaties."

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE, *June 21, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report that toward the close of the action between the *Alabama* and this vessel all available sail was made on the former for the purpose of again reaching Cherbourg. When the object was apparent the *Kearsarge* was steered across the bow of the *Alabama* for a raking fire, but before reaching this point the *Alabama* struck. Uncertain whether Captain Semmes was not using some ruse, the *Kearsarge* was stopped. It was seen shortly afterwards that the *Alabama* was lowering her boats, and an officer came alongside in one of them to say that they had surrendered and were fast sinking, and begging that boats would be dispatched immediately for saving of life. The two boats not disabled were at once lowered, and it was apparent that the *Alabama* was settling. This officer was permitted to leave in his boat to afford assistance. An English yacht, the *Deerhound*, had approached near the *Kearsarge* at this time, when I hailed and begged the commander to run down to the *Alabama*, as she was fast sinking, and we had but two boats, and assist in picking up the men. He answered affirmatively and steamed toward the *Alabama*, but the latter sank almost immediately. The *Deerhound*, however, sent her boats and was actively engaged, aided by several others which had come from shore. These boats were busy in bringing the wounded and others to the *Kearsarge*, whom we were trying to make as comfortable

as possible, when it was reported to me that the *Deerhound* was moving off. I could not believe that the commander of that vessel could be guilty of so disgraceful an act as taking our prisoners off, and therefore took no means to prevent it, but continued to keep our boats at work rescuing the men in the water. I am sorry to say that I was mistaken; the *Deerhound* made off with Captain Semmes and others, and also the very officer who had come on board to surrender.

"I learned subsequently that the *Deerhound* was a consort of the *Alabama*, and that she received on board all the valuable personal effects of Captain Semmes the night before the engagement.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,

"*Secretary of the Navy*, Washington, D. C."

. . . . . .

"My despatch of the 21st ulto. informed the Department of the proceedings of the *Deerhound* yacht, her gradual edging to leeward, leading us to suppose she was seeking men who were drifting in the current, and then taking advantage of the hazy weather to make off, while our boats were out busy in rescuing the larger part of the prisoners who were struggling in the water.

"It was my mistake at the moment, that I could not recognize an enemy, who, under the guise of a friend was affording assistance."

Captain Semmes to Flag Officer Samuel Barron, June 21, 1864:

". . . . Some twenty minutes after my furnace fires had been extinguished, and the ship being on the point of settling, every man, in obedience to a previous order which had been given to the crew, jumped overboard and endeavored to save himself. There was no appearance of any boat coming to me from the enemy until after the ship went down. Fortunately,

however, the steam yacht *Deerhound*, owned by a gentleman of Lancashire, England (Mr. John Lancaster), who was himself on board, steamed up in the midst of my drowning men and rescued a number of both officers and men from the water. I was fortunate enough myself thus to escape to the shelter of the neutral flag, together with about forty others, all told. About this time the *Kearsarge* sent one and then tardily, another boat. . . ."

Confederate Commissioner Mason to Mr. Lancaster:

"24 Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,
"LONDON, *June 21, 1864.*

"DEAR SIR: I received from Captain Semmes at Southampton, where I had the pleasure to see you yesterday, a full report of the efficient service rendered under your orders by the officers and crew of your yacht, the *Deerhound*, in rescuing him, with thirteen of his officers and twenty-seven of his crew, from their impending fate after the loss of his ship.

"Captain Semmes reports that, finding the *Alabama* actually sinking, he had barely time to dispatch his wounded in his own boats to the enemy's ship, when the *Alabama* went down; that nothing was left to those who remained on board but to throw themselves into the sea; their own boats absent, there seemed no prospect of relief when your yacht arrived in their midst and your boats were launched; and he impressively told me that to this timely and generous succor he, with most of his officers and a portion of his crew, were indebted for their safety. He further told me that on their arrival on board the yacht every care and kindness were extended to them which their exhausted condition required, even to supplying all with dry clothing.

"I am fully aware of the noble and disinterested spirit which prompted you to go to the rescue of the gallant crew of the *Alabama*, and that I can add nothing to the recompense already received by you and those acting under you in the consciousness of having 'done as you would be done by'; yet you will permit me to thank you, and through you

the captain, officers, and crew of the *Deerhound*, for this signal service, and to say that in doing so I but anticipate the grateful sentiment of my country and of the Government of the Confederate States.

"I have the honor to be, dear sir, most respectfully and truly, your obedient servant, "J. Y. Mason.

"John Lancaster, Esq.,
"Hindley Hall, Wigan (England)."

"Hindley Hall,
"Near Wigan (England), *June, 24, 1864.*

"Dear Sir:

"I am in due receipt of your esteemed favor of the 21st instant, and am gratified to find that the timely aid we rendered with the yacht *Deerhound* to the gallant captain and officers and crew of the *Alabama* has met with your approval. I shall always look back to that event with satisfaction, however much we may regret the result which necessitated interference. "Yours, very respectfully,

"John Lancaster.

"Hon. J. Y. Mason."

Letter from Mr. Lancaster to the *London Daily News:*

"Hindley Hall,
"Wigan, *June 27, 1864.*

"Sir:

"As two correspondents of your journal, in giving their versions of the fight between the *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*, have designated my share in the escape of Captain Semmes and a portion of the crew of the sunken ship as 'dishonorable,' and have, moreover, affirmed that my yacht, the *Deerhound*, was in the harbor of Cherbourg before the engagement, and proceeded thence on the morning of the engagement in order to assist the *Alabama*, I presume I may trespass upon your kindness so far as to ask for an opportunity to repudiate the imputation and deny the assertion. They admit that when the *Alabama* went down the yacht, being near the *Kearsarge*, was hailed by Captain Winslow and requested to aid in picking

up the men who were in the water; but they intimate that my services were expected to be merely ministerial, or, in other words, that I was to put myself under the command of Captain Winslow, and place my yacht at his disposal for the capture of the poor fellows who were struggling in the water for their lives. The fact is, that when we passed the *Kearsarge*, the captain cried out, 'For God's sake do what you can to save them,' and that was my warrant for interfering in any way for the aid and succor of his enemies. It may be a question with some whether, without that warrant, I should have been justified in endeavoring to rescue any of the crew of the *Alabama*, but my own opinion is that a man drowning in the open sea cannot be regarded as an enemy at the time to anybody, and is therefore entitled to the assistance of any passer-by. Be this as it may, I had the earnest request of Captain Winslow to rescue as many of the men who were in the water as I could lay hold of, but that request was not coupled with any stipulation to the effect that I should deliver up the rescued men to him as his prisoners. If it had been, I should have declined the task, because I should have deemed it dishonorable—that is, inconsistent with my notions of honor — to lend my yacht and crew for the purpose of rescuing those brave men from drowning only to hand them over to their enemies for imprisonment, ill-treatment, and perhaps execution. One of your correspondents opens a letter by expressing a desire to bring to the notice of the yacht clubs of England the conduct of the commander of the *Deerhound* which followed the engagement of the *Alabama* and *Kearsarge*. Now that my conduct has been impugned I am equally wishful that it should come under the notice of the yacht clubs of England, and I am quite willing to leave the point of 'honor' to be decided by my brother yachtsmen, and, indeed, by any tribunal of gentlemen. As to my legal right to take away Captain Semmes and his friends, I have been educated in the belief that an English ship is English territory, and am therefore unable even now to discover why I was more bound to surrender the people of the *Alabama* whom I had on board my yacht than the owner of a garden on the south coast of England would

have been if they had swum to such a place and landed there, or than the mayor of Southampton was when they were lodging in that city, or than the British Government is now that it is known that they are somewhere in England.

"Your other correspondent says that Captain Winslow declares that 'the reason he did not pursue the *Deerhound* or fire into her was that he could not believe at the time that anyone carrying the flag of the Royal Yacht Squadron could act so dishonorable a part as to carry off the prisoners whom he had requested him to save from feelings of humanity.' I was not aware then, and I am not aware now, that the men whom I saved were or ever had been his prisoners. Whether any of the circumstances which had preceded the sinking of the *Alabama* constituted them prisoners was a question that never came under my consideration, and one which I am not disposed to discuss even now. I can only say that it is a new doctrine to me that when one ship sinks another in warfare the crew of the sunken ship are debarred from swimming for their lives and seeking refuge wherever they can find it, and it is a doctrine which I shall not accept unless backed by better authority than that of the master of the *Kearsarge*. What Captain Winslow's notion of humanity may be is a point beyond my knowledge, but I have good reason for believing that not many members of the Royal Yacht Squadron would, from motives of humanity, have taken Captain Semmes from the water in order to give him up to the tender mercies of Captain Winslow and his compatriots. Another reason for that hero's forbearance may be imagined in the reflection that such a performance as that of Captain Wilkes, who dragged two 'enemies' or 'rebels' from an English ship, would not bear repetition. Your anonymous correspondent further says that 'Captain Winslow would now have all the officers and men of the *Alabama* as prisoners had he not placed too much confidence in the honor of an Englishman who carried the flag of the Royal Yacht Squadron.' This is a very questionable assertion, for why did Captain Winslow confide in that Englishman? Why did he implore his interference, calling out, 'For God's sake do what you can to save them?' I

presume it was because he could not or would not save them himself. The fact is that if the captain and crew of the *Alabama* had depended for safety altogether upon Captain Winslow, not one-half of them would have been saved. He got quite as many of them as he could lay hold of time enough to deliver them from drowning.

"I come now to the more definite charges advanced by your correspondents, and these I will soon dispose of.

"They maintain that my yacht was in the harbor of Cherbourg for the purpose of assisting the *Alabama*, and that her movements before the action prove that she attended her for the same object. My impression was that that yacht was in Cherbourg to suit my convenience and pleasure, and I am quite sure that when there I neither did nor intended to do anything to serve the *Alabama*. We steamed out on Sunday morning to see the engagement, and the resolution to do so was the result of a family council whereat the question 'to go out' or 'not to go out' was duly discussed, and the decision in the affirmative was carried by the juveniles rather against the wish of both myself and my wife. Had I contemplated taking any part in the movements of the *Alabama*, I do not think I should have been accompanied with my wife and several young children.

"One of your correspondents, however, says that he knows that the *Deerhound* did assist the *Alabama*, and if he does know this he knows more than I do. As to the movements of the *Deerhound* before the action, all the movements with which I was acquainted were for the objects of enjoying the summer morning and getting a good and safe place from which to watch the engagement.

"Another of your correspondents declares that since the affair it has been discovered that the *Deerhound* was a consort of the *Alabama*, and on the night before had received many valuable articles for safe-keeping from that vessel. This is simply untrue. Before the engagement neither I nor any of my family had any knowledge of or communication with either Captain Semmes, any of his officers, or any of his crew. Since the fight I have enquired from my captain whether he or any

of my crew had had any communication with the captain or crew of the *Alabama* prior to meeting them on the *Deerhound* after the engagement, and his answer, given in the most emphatic manner, has been 'None whatever.'

"As to the deposit of chronometers and other valuable articles, the whole story is a myth. Nothing was brought from the *Alabama* to the *Deerhound*, and I never heard of the tale until I saw it in an extract from your own columns. After the fight was over, the drowning men picked up, and the *Deerhound* steaming away to Southampton, some of the officers who had been saved began to express their acknowledgments for my services, and my reply to them, which was addressed to all who stood around, was, 'Gentlemen, you have no need to give me any special thanks; I should have done exactly the same for the other people if they had needed it.' This speech would have been a needless and, indeed, an absurd piece of hypocrisy if there had been any league or alliance between the *Alabama* and the *Deerhound*.

"Both your correspondents agree in maintaining that Captain Semmes and such of his crew as were taken away by the *Deerhound* are bound in honor to consider themselves still as prisoners, and to render themselves to their lawful captors as soon as practicable.

"This is a point which I have nothing to do with, and therefore I shall not discuss it.

"My object in this letter is merely to vindicate my conduct from misrepresentation, and I trust that in aiming at this I have not transgressed any of your rules of correspondence, and shall therefore be entitled to a place in your columns.

"I am, etc.,

"JOHN LANCASTER.

"The Editor of the *Daily News*."

Statement of the Captain of the *Deerhound* (from *Two Years on the Alabama*, by Lieut. Arthur Sinclair, C. S. N.):

"On June 9, 1864, we were lying at St. Malo, where we landed Mr. Lancaster and family, after a cruise among the

Channel Islands. On their leaving, we immediately set sail for Cherbourg, calling on our way to Jersey for letters. We arrived at Cherbourg, and came to anchor close to the *Alabama*, and to an English sailing-yacht, the *Hornet*. We had no communication with the *Alabama* during our stay in the harbor, except to send alongside, asking permission to visit, which they refused, saying that they were too busy. We could see from our vessel that they were practising boarding-drill, and surmised that they had it in view to board the *Kearsarge* in the engagement which rumor in Cherbourg had it was to take place on the following Sunday.

"On the day previous to the fight I met Mr. Lancaster and family at the station (as was my custom), and informed him that the *Alabama* was lying in the harbor. I reminded him that she was built at Messrs. Lairds' yard, at Birkenhead, during the time that the *Deerhound* was there being lengthened. I also told him that the *Kearsarge* had steamed in at the east end of the harbor and out at the west, evidently taking a survey of the enemy. No doubt this was a great advantage to Capt. Winslow, who also got at the same time a full report of the *Alabama's* condition from the American consul of the port —especially as to the condition of her boilers, which I believe were in a very bad state. . . .

"After the *Alabama* went down, we steamed round the starboard quarter of the *Kearsarge*, and Capt. Winslow asked us to render all assistance possible to the drowning crew. We picked up forty-two, including Captain Semmes, who had a life-belt on when rescued. William Roberts, our chief steward, recognized Semmes in the water from having seen him previously on the Confederate steamship *Sumter*, at Gibraltar, where the *Deerhound* happened to be at the same time. Mr. Kell, the first officer of the *Alabama*, was rescued with Semmes; and Semmes probably owed his life to him, as he unquestionably did his liberty. It was Kell who suggested that Semmes should lie flat in the bottom of the boat to prevent his recognition by the party in the *Kearsarge's* launch, which was close by us, and who donned himself one of our crew's hats, with the word "DEERHOUND" on it, and took an

oar, so as to pass for one of our men. The question was asked from the launch whether Semmes had been saved or not. Kell promptly replied, 'He is drowned;' and the assurance was accepted, thus securing Semmes's escape. We were sorry we did not succeed in saving Mr. Llewellyn, the surgeon. Our boat was but a few yards off, and pulling toward him, when he went down.

. . . . . .

"On our way to Southampton we passed the sailing-yacht *Hornet*, Hewitt, master; and one of the saved men remarked that they had all their treasure, including about sixty chronometers, on board her. The same evening we arrived off Cowes, where Mr. Lancaster went on shore and reported himself at Cowes Castle as a member of the Royal Yacht squadron. We landed all the saved men at Southampton. The next day Mr. Lancaster gave the *Times* correspondent all the details. Afterward Mr. Mason (of the Mason and Slidell episode) came on board, and thanked Mr. Lancaster and family for their kindness and humanity.

"When Semmes came on board he was wounded and exhausted, and a most miserable object to look at. But after a little nursing he came on deck as bright as a dandy-cock. Semmes seemed to be greatly reverenced by his crew, but I think Kell had their deepest regard. According to their idea, Kell was Semmes's mainstay and chief counsellor, and the commander owed much of his success and reputation to his first officer's sagacity and promptness of resource.

. . . . . .

"Evan P. Jones, *Captain*,
"*Yacht 'Deerhound.'*"

The action of the *Deerhound* was the subject of persistent diplomatic discussion between the United States and British governments for nearly six months, and searching inquiry was made by United States officials in England and France to learn how far the yacht had been an accomplice of

the Confederate cruiser, but no positive evidence was ever found. The correspondence finally ceased with no official concession on either side. Nevertheless, opinion seems now to be crystallizing. The International Peace Conference at The Hague, 1899, in formulating a convention for adapting the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864 to maritime warfare, introduced the following:

"*Article 6.* Les bâtiments de commerce, yachts ou embarcations neutres, portant ou recueillant des blessés, des malades ou des naufragés des belligérants, ne peuvent être capturés pour le fait de ce transport, mais ils restent exposés à la capture pour les violations de neutralité qu'ils pourraient avoir commissés."

"*Article 9.* Sont prisonniers de guerre les naufragés, blessés ou malades, d'un belligérant qui tombent au pouvoir de l'autre. . . ."

This convention was signed by the representatives of France, Russia, Spain, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Greece, Mexico, Persia, Siam, Bulgaria, Romania and Montenegro. It was not signed by the representatives of the United States, but in the United States Naval War Code prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, approved by the President of the United States, and issued for the navy, June 27, 1900, is found:

"*Article 25.* Merchant vessels, yachts, or neutral vessels that happen to be in the vicinity of active maritime hostilities, may gather up the wounded, sick, or shipwrecked of the belligerents. Such vessels, after this service has been performed, shall report to the belligerent commander controlling

the waters thereabouts, for future directions, and while accompanying a belligerent will be, in all cases, under his orders; and if a neutral, be designated by the national flag of that belligerent carried at the foremasthead, with the red cross flag flying immediately under it.

"These vessels are subject to capture for any violation of neutrality that they may commit. Any attempt to carry off such wounded, sick, and shipwrecked, without permission, is a violation of neutrality. . . ."

CHAPTER XXI

THE SOJOURN OF THE VICTOR AT CHERBOURG.

IT was now necessary to repair the damages of battle, to place the wounded in hospitals, and to dispose of the prisoners who encumbered the *Kearsarge's* decks and for whom she had no berthing space. With characteristic promptness Captain Winslow decided to release his prisoners on parole the afternoon of the day of battle. This action was strongly disapproved by the Navy Department. It was, however, perfectly legitimate, and the following correspondence demonstrates its expediency:

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*June 21st, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report that the number of prisoners brought on board the *Kearsarge*, belonging to the *Alabama*, was seventy, six officers and sixty-four men. One officer—Carpenter—and two men dying and seventeen wounded are included in this number.

"As we have very contracted accommodations for our own crew, without increase, it became indispensable to send these prisoners on shore, and their parole was taken. With exception of the Doctor,—non-combatant,—who was put on parole that he might attend to his wounded, the officers were held as prisoners of war.

"I learn that three officers with six men were carried on shore at Cherbourg by pilot boats, but of the number who reached England in the *Deerhound*, I have no reliable accounts.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'

"SIR:

"I have the honor to enclose herewith the original written parole subscribed by the prisoners of the *Alabama*.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

"Enclosures.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"PORT OF CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*June 19, 1864.*

"We, the seamen and others lately belonging to the steamer *Alabama*, and captured in the action between that vessel and the U. S. S. *Kearsarge* off this port on the 19th day of June, 1864, now prisoners of war, do hereby solemnly pledge our sacred word of honor not to engage in arms against or otherwise employ ourselves against the interest of the Government of the United States of America until we shall be regularly exchanged."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"PORT OF CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*June 19, 1864.*

"We, the wounded prisoners of war, late seamen and others on board the *Alabama*, captured in the action off Cherbourg

by the U. S. S. *Kearsarge* on the 19th of June, 1864, do solemnly affirm upon our sacred word of honor that we will not bear arms against or otherwise operate against the interest of the Government of the United States in any manner whatsoever until we shall have been regularly exchanged."

The officers of the *Alabama*, as stated by Winslow, remained prisoners of war. One of these, however, was subsequently paroled under the following circumstances :

"LONDON, *July 13, 1864.*

"MY DEAR SIR:

"Mr. Wilson, one of the persons taken at the time of the action with the *Alabama*, and now a prisoner on parole in your ship, has called to see me to ask a word from me to you in favor of giving him his liberty on parole.

"I decline to assume any authority with you in regard to the disposition you think proper to make of your prisoners. At the same time, I have reasons to suppose that this young gentleman has acted honorably in this business by recognizing his obligations, and therefore I should regret that he should experience no more liberal treatment in return than one who disregarded them would deserve.

"Under these circumstances, if in your judgment this case, for any reason of the health of the person or any other good cause, is one in which you can make an exception, having a reliance on the honor of the individual, that he will take no improper advantage of it, I will very cheerfully concur in your opinion and approve of your act.

"I am, very truly, yours,

"C. F. ADAMS.

"*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.*

"Captain JNO. A. WINSLOW,

"*Commanding U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*

"Cherbourg, France."

Endorsement.

"Notify General Butler of this.

"WELLES."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"OFF DOVER, *July 14, 1864.*

"The conduct of Joseph D. Wilson, late lieutenant on board the *Alabama*, has been so honorable, first, in presenting himself on board the *Kearsarge* and surrendering himself when it was in his power to have gone on board the *Deerhound* and gained his liberty in the dishonorable manner which others had taken, and again, in his repudiation of the means pursued by those who obtained their liberty in this way, and his deportment while a prisoner having been of the same honorable standard, at the instance of Mr. Adams, minister of the United States at the court of St. James, I have paroled the said Wilson; and feeling a full confidence and trust in his word and honor, I recommend that all privileges which can be given a prisoner of war should be extended to him, believing fully he will never violate any obligation which he pledges himself to fulfil.

"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*
"Lieutenant J. D. WILSON, C. S. Navy."

The Navy Department expressed its disapprobation of the parole of prisoners as soon as it learned of such action:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,
"*July 12, 1864.*

"SIR:

"Your dispatch of the 21st ultimo is received, stating your efforts to save the lives of the survivors of the *Alabama* after the battle of the 19th of June, and after the formal surrender and destruction of that vessel. Your efforts in the cause of humanity in striving to rescue these men, most of them aliens, who have, under their ignoble leader, himself a deserter from our service and a traitor to our flag, been for nearly two years making piratical war on unarmed merchantmen, are rightly appreciated. It is to be regretted that the confidence and generous sympathy which you exercised, and which would actuate all honorable minds under similar circumstances, should have been so requited and abused by the persons on

board the *Deerhound*, an English vessel of the Royal Yacht Squadron. That the wretched commander of the sunken corsair should have resorted to any dishonorable means to escape after his surrender; that he should have thrown overboard the sword that was no longer his; that before encountering an armed antagonist the mercenary rover should have removed the chronometers and other plunder stolen from peaceful commerce, are not matters of surprise, for each act has been characteristic of one who has been false to his country and flag. You could not have expected, however, that gentlemen, or those claiming to be gentlemen, would on such an occasion act in bad faith, and that having been called upon or permitted to assist in rescuing persons or property which had been surrendered to you, would run away with either. It is now evident that your confidence in the *Deerhound* and the persons connected with her was misplaced. The Department commends your efforts to save the lives of drowning men, although they had been engaged in robbing and destroying the property of those who had never injured them.

"In paroling the prisoners, however, you committed a grave error. The *Alabama* was an English-built vessel, armed and manned by Englishmen; has never visited any port of North America, and her career of devastation since she went forth from England is one that does not entitle those of her crew who were captured to be paroled. This Department expressly disavows that act. Extreme caution must be exercised that we in no way change the character of this English-built and English-manned, if not English-owned, vessel, or relieve those who may be implicated in sending forth this robber upon the seas from any responsibility to which they may be liable for the outrages she has committed.

"Very respectfully, etc.,

"Gideon Welles,

"*Secretary of the Navy.*

"Captain Jno. A. Winslow, U. S. Navy,

"*Commanding U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*

"Cherbourg, France."

Winslow's explanation seems to have closed the subject :

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"ENGLISH CHANNEL,
"*July 30th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"The latter part of the despatch of the Department of the 8th inst. refers to the parole of the prisoners in these words: 'It is reported you have paroled the foreign pirates captured on board the *Alabama*. I trust you have not committed this error of judgment. They should be held at every sacrifice and either sent home in the *St. Louis* or brought here by yourself.'

"I beg the Department will consider the circumstances in which this vessel was placed at the termination of the action with the *Alabama*. The berth deck, contracted as it is, with insufficient stowage for our own men, was covered with bedding of the wounded, the quarter deck was similarly crowded, and the forward part of the ship on the spar deck was filled with prisoners under guard. The ship was damaged both in rigging and hull. A shot had entered the stern post raising the transom frame, and binding the rudder so hard as to require four men at the helm. It was, therefore, important that an examination should be made of the damages sustained. On our arrival at Cherbourg I received information from our Consul at London that the *Florida* was in the Channel on the French coast, and at the same time information came that the *Yeddo* was out and the *Rappahannock* was expected to follow, and in addition to this that the *St. Louis* had sailed for Madeira.

"The *Kearsarge* had been acting alone and independently for the last nine months, and I was not aware that any of our cruisers had been ordered in the Channel.

"It became therefore in my mind of the utmost importance that the *Kearsarge* should at once be put in a state to meet these vessels and protect our commerce. This could not be done with prisoners on board equalling the half of our crew, and the room occupied by the wounded taken to the exclu-

sion of our own men; to have kept them would have required a quarter watch as guards and the ship would have been wholly ineffective as a man-of-war to meet the emergency which threatened. Under these circumstances, and without an American vessel in port by which any arrangement could be made for transshipping the prisoners outside, I felt it my duty to parole them.

"A report appears in the papers that the prisoners were paroled contrary to Mr. Dayton's instructions. This is erroneous. Communication was had with Mr. Dayton on the subject of the officers and after these men were paroled.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy*,
"Washington, D. C."

Of the three Confederate officers remaining in Winslow's custody, one, 3d Assistant Engineer J. W. Pundt, was permitted to go on shore at Dover for the benefit of his health, under a pledge to return, which he failed to do, and the others, Chief Engineer M. J. Freeman and Boatswain B. P. Mecaskey, were brought to the United States in the *Kearsarge* and turned over to the United States Marshal as prisoners of war.

One of the French pilot-boats engaged in rescue landed those recovered at Cherbourg. Lieutenant Armstrong, C.S.N., thus describes the incident:

CHERBOURG, *June 21, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report for your information the circumstances attending my rescue from drowning by a French

pilot boat after the *Alabama* went down. I was wounded in the side by a part of a shell early in the action, and suffered so much pain in the water that had it not been for the exertions of the *Alabama's* crew I would certainly have gone down. One of the *Kearsarge's* boats was very near me, but laid on its oars and made no exertion whatever that I could see to save me, the officer apparently looking for some particular person. I made great exertions to reach the French boat, and was finally pulled into her so benumbed by cold and suffering so much from my bruised side that I could not stand, and for two hours was as helpless as a child. I had on, while near the *Kearsarge's* boat, my uniform cap, which the Federal officer could certainly have seen.

"The officers who were saved with me were Second Assistant Engineer William P. Brooks and Acting Sailmaker Henry Alcott. What time they got on board of the boat I cannot say. I found when my faculties returned the following men on board with me:

"Charles Godwin, captain afterguard; James Welsh, captain top; George Edgerton, ordinary seaman; Thomas Murphy, fireman; William Robinson, seaman, and Morris Britt, boy.

"As I got on board of the pilot boat I saw Michael Mars (seaman) plunge from the *Kearsarge's* boat and swim to the boat which I was in. The Federal officer said nothing, attempted nothing, appearing perfectly stupefied by the bold action of this brave man.

"I am, sir,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"R. F. Armstrong,
"*Second Lieutenant, C. S. Navy.*

"Flag-Officer Saml. Barron, C. S. Navy,
"Paris."

Winslow did not overlook these refugees, and addressed Confederate Agent Bonfils, of Cherbourg, on the subject as follows :

"*U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*June 22nd, 1864.*

"TO MR. BONFILS,

"SIR:

"Certain pilot boats, which I permitted for the sake of humanity, rescued several prisoners after the *Alabama* was sunk and have brought them to Cherbourg. These officers and men are not relieved from obligation which the law of war imposes. They are my prisoners and I demand that they repair on board the *Kearsarge* and give themselves up.

"Should they seek exemption from this obligation by the means employed, hereafter, in similar cases they will be entitled to no clemency.

"I therefore request you will make known to such, the demand that I make.

"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*"

The emergency that warranted him in diverting the *St. Louis* from her station having passed, Winslow telegraphed Commander Preble immediately after the battle, annulling the previous telegram, so she did not join the *Kearsarge.*

The wounded of the two vessels were transferred to the Naval Hospital at Cherbourg. A pen picture of them is given by Mr. F. M. Edge, an Englishman who visited the hospital:

". . . I paid a visit to that establishment on the Sunday following the engagement, and found the sufferers lying in comfortable beds alongside each other in a long and admirably ventilated ward on the first floor. Poor Gowen, who died the following Tuesday, was in great pain, and already had the seal of death upon his face. James McBeath, a young fellow of apparently twenty years, with a compound fracture of the leg, chatted with much animation; while

Dempsey, the stump of his right arm laid on the pillow, was comfortably smoking a cigar, and laughing and talking with one of the *Alabama* crew, in the bed alongside him. The wounded men of the sunken privateer were unmistakably English in physiognomy, and I failed to discover any who were not countrymen of ours. I conversed with all of them, stating at the outset that I was an Englishman like themselves, and the information seemed to open their hearts to me. They represented themselves as very comfortable at the hospital, that everything they asked for was given to them, and that they were surprised at the kindness of the *Kearsarge* men who came to visit the establishment, when they were assured by their own officers before the action that foul treatment would only be shown them in the event of their capture. Condoling with one poor fellow who had his leg carried away by a shell, he remarked to me, 'Ah, it serves me right. They won't catch me fighting again without knowing what I 'm fighting for.' 'That 's me too,' said another poor Englishman alongside of him.

"The paroled prisoners (four officers) on shore at Cherbourg, evinced no hostility whatever to their captors, but were always on the friendliest of terms with them. All alike frequented the same hotel in the town (curiously enough—'The Eagle,') played billiards at the same café, and bought their pipes, cigars, and tobacco from the same pretty little brunette on the *Quai du Port*. . . ."

The most graphic description of these days spent in Cherbourg is given in a letter from Lieutenant-Commander Thornton to a friend:

"'*Kearsarge*,'

"CHERBOURG, *June 23, 1864*.

". . . Now that I have restored the noble old *Kearsarge* to her former beauty and efficiency, and answered my numerous congratulatory letters (*short answers*, you may depend upon it), and am quietly seated in my room, I can escape disturbance and have a pleasant chat with you.

"We have had a great victory, and the whole of Europe is

ringing with it. Congratulatory letters are pouring in upon us from all quarters, and bouquets of flowers, with offers of boxes at the opera, and thousands of attentions besides. In the midst of it all I have been incessantly, and even furiously, occupied in getting the ship fully re-established in its former good order and condition. . . .

"You will learn all about the fight and the destruction of the *Alabama* in the papers. I believe I am awarded all the credit I could wish for the part I bore in the battle; but military pride and promotion have ceased in a great measure to be a motive with me. *I have endeavored to do my duty to the country and the service*, both in battle and in the long, laborious and careful preparation for it. I have succeeded, and I am *satisfied*. I felt no excitement in the fight, but I watched its progress with professional interest, and I felt perfectly satisfied with the result. That is all.

"Very different were my feelings in former battles on the Mississippi and the Gulf. Then I felt all the excitement and all the enthusiasm of the scene, the desire to do and dare, in *contempt* of danger and death. Perhaps if we had been obliged to 'board' the *Alabama* the rush of conflict would have revived the old feelings, but I doubt it. However, I must not mourn if I have been enabled to do my duty creditably. My old and honored commander, Admiral Rowan, will be pleased, and that is one gratification to me, and perhaps many another friend will be also.

"By the by, we have news that the *Alabama*, (my head is so full of that nasty ship) rather the *Niagara*, departed for these waters on the 2d of this month, and we are expecting her daily. Now that the *Alabama* has been destroyed, the *Georgia* run into port and sold, the *Rappahannock* permanently seized by the French Government, and only the *Florida* left of all the rebel navy, perhaps the *Kearsarge* may be relieved by the *Niagara* and be allowed to return home. I can really see no further necessity for her presence in the Channel now, although the 'secesh' avow, with many strange oaths, that they will fit out another *Alabama* in six weeks and sink the *Kearsarge*. But I rather think they have got enough for the

present. I long to see the old *Niagara* stick her long nose toward the 'breakwater'; but I suppose we must wear out many a weary cruise before she really does come. But I do not think we shall see any more fighting, unless we can pick up the *Florida*. I have a sort of grudge against my old foe, but am willing that she should be taken by any other fortunate ship.

"None of my messmates had ever been in action before. Judging from the papers, there is tremendous excitement both in England and France. The shipping in Liverpool and Havre is decorated, extra papers are issued, crowds collect at the corners of the streets, and the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama* are in every mouth. Our ship is full of excited and gaping strangers, and altogether there is such noise and confusion that I have despaired of keeping the ship quiet. If they would only make one day of it, I could stand it very well, but days have elapsed and the crowd is greater than ever. 'There never was such a ship as the *Kearsarge*, and there never was such an action before.' Such is the common talk, and I am sick and tired of it.

"The shores of the old Channel have rung with the sound of naval artillery for centuries; and yet an hour's sharp fighting sets the French to jabbering, and John Bull to using worse language. The *Alabama* happened to have a battery of *English* manufacture, while our own was purely *American*. In calibre and mathematical force they were about equals, but the disproportion of effect was wonderful. The English will not ascribe it to superior training and discipline on our side, which is the true cause, but persist in trying to find fault with the fairness of the battle, when nothing could be fairer. The two ships were alike in size, the *Alabama* mounting one gun in the broadside more than the *Kearsarge*, while the *Kearsarge* had two 11-inch pivot guns, when the *Alabama* had one 8-inch and one 120-pounder Blakely rifled gun. There was a difference of only 60 pounds in the weight of iron thrown at a single broadside. They were as nearly equal as ever two ships were. Profiting by former experience, we had "bighted" our sheet cables over the side for the better protection of our boilers.

This had been done a year and a half before the action. Semmes was aware of this, but underrated its importance, and neglected to provide his ship with a similar defense. The chain was struck twice by the heaviest projectiles, and unquestionably saved us from damage. But the *Alabama's* men fired hurriedly, and almost always *above* our ship, while our men, trained to coolness and deliberation, fired slowly and *into* the *Alabama.*

"*Friday Evening.* All day long we have been receiving and discharging French officers, from the Admirals down to the lowest 'sub.' It is tiresome work, and I had rather fight twenty *Alabamas.*

"*Saturday Morning.* Our repairs are nearly completed, and we shall leave here early next week for England. The *Niagara* has just gone into Antwerp, as we are informed by telegraph."

Temporary repairs on the *Kearsarge* were completed by July 5th, and Winslow was notified to leave port within twenty-four hours:

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge,*'
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*July 5th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report that, the temporary repairs of this ship have been completed, by knotting the main and reeving new running rigging, and patching over the shot holes in the bulwarks and sides, and repairing the old sails.

"I would beg leave to state that, owing to there being but one suit of sails furnished this vessel, so much of them as remain are in a very poor state.

"Of the main rigging that which is left unknotted, the core only remained unaffected by injury from smoke from the furnaces. It is therefore necessary to support the masts by pennant tackles in rough weather.

"I have already informed the Department that we received a bad shot in our stern post from one hundred pound rifle.

This has cut away more than half the wood, and by its action of wedging has made the rudder more difficult to turn. On examination it was found that if the shot was cut out, so little of the wood would remain that the slightest sea would, no doubt, carry away rudder and stern post, it was therefore advisable to let it rest for the present during summer months.

"Under these circumstances I feel it my duty to state that it would be hazardous to continue the cruise of this ship in anything like the heavy weather we experienced during the last winter. The ship can be repaired in Flushing or some other port in Europe, but the repairs must be extensive. I also feel it my duty to state that, if the Department have in view ordering this ship to the United States the order should be issued in time for us to cross the Atlantic before the equinox sets in, for should it be delayed after this I hold the necessity imperative that we should enter dock and repair our stern post.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy.*"

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*July 5th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to inform the Department that the reports that the *Florida* is lurking somewhere on the coast of France have decided me to return up the Channel. I shall proceed today towards Dover and touch off some of the intermediate places for communication with our Consuls and verification of the reports.

"The *Yeddo* which sailed from Bordeaux is reported to have passed into the Prussian hands, and has entered the 'Weser.'

"I have received notice from Lisbon that the *Sacramento* will sail for Cherbourg.

"The twenty-four hour law prevents my remaining to communicate with her.

"I have the honor to be
"Very respectfully
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy.*"

Having destroyed the greatest of Confederate cruisers, Winslow was concentrating his attention upon the next in importance, the *Florida*, and planning for the co-operation of other vessels, which had been tardily sent out by the United States Government:

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"CHERBOURG, FRANCE,
"*July 5th, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I will be obliged to you to communicate with me as to your movements. I am now going up the Channel and our depot for letters is Dover. I will endeavor to obtain from Craven some information as to his movements also, in the *Niagara*. A cooperation may be necessary, should the reports of the *Florida* being in the Channel be verified.

"Hoping to see you before long
"I remain, very respectfully
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Captain HENRY WALKE,
"*Comdg. U. S. S.* '*Sacramento.*' "

The *Sacramento* arrived in Cherbourg the next day, a few hours before the *Kearsarge* sailed.

The relief and joy of all loyal Americans on the Continent and in England, upon learning of the

destruction of the *Alabama*, was beyond description. Letters and telegrams of congratulation and unbounded praise showered upon Winslow from officials and civilians alike. Quotations from them here would only be tedious. Minister Adams was prompt to acknowledge the brilliance of the victory. The official news of the action reached Washington on the 6th of July and the congratulations of the United States Government were immediately despatched :

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,
"*July 6, 1864.*

"SIR:

"Your very brief dispatches of the 19th and 20th ultimo, informing the Department that the piratical craft *Alabama*, or *290*, had been sunk on the 19th June, near meridian, by the *Kearsarge*, under your command, were this day received. I congratulate you on your good fortune in meeting the *Alabama*, which has so long avoided the fastest ships and some of the most vigilant and intelligent officers of the service, and for the ability displayed in the contest you have the thanks of the Department.

"You will please express to the officers and crew of the *Kearsarge* the satisfaction of the Government at this victory over a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in the number of her crew. The battle was so brief, the victory so decisive, and the comparative results so striking that the country will be reminded of the brilliant actions of our infant Navy, which have been repeated and illustrated in this engagement.

"The *Alabama* represented the best maritime effort of the most skilled English workshops. Her battery was composed of the well-tried 32-pounders of 57 hundredweight, of the 68-pounder of the British navy, and of the only successful rifled 100-pounder yet produced in England. The crew were generally recruited in Great Britain, and many of them received

superior training on board her Majesty's gunnery ship the *Excellent*.

"The *Kearsarge* is one of the first gunboats built at our navy yards at the commencement of the rebellion, and lacks the improvements of vessels now under construction. The principal guns composing her battery had never been previously tried in an exclusively naval engagement, yet in one hour you succeeded in sinking your antagonist, thus fitly ending her predatory career, and killed many of her crew, without injury to the *Kearsarge* or the loss of a single life on your vessel.

"Our countrymen have reason to be satisfied that in this, as in every naval action of this unhappy war, neither the ships, the guns, nor the crews have deteriorated, but that they maintain the ability and continue the renown which have ever adorned our naval annals.

"The President has signified his intention to recommend that you receive a vote of thanks, in order that you may be advanced to the grade of commodore. Lieutenant-Commander James S. Thornton, the executive officer of the *Kearsarge*, will be recommended to the Senate for advancement ten numbers in his grade, and you will report to the Department the names of any others of the officers or crew whose good conduct on the occasion entitles them to especial mention.

"Very respectfully, etc.,

"Gideon Welles,

"*Secretary of the Navy.*

"Captain John A. Winslow,

"*Commanding U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*

"Cherbourg, France."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CLOSE OF THE CRUISE.

WHEN he got to sea, Winslow found a breathing space in which to write home at some length.

"OFF HASTINGS,
"*July 7th, 1864.*

" . . . I have written a letter to the Department, which must carry the *Kearsarge* home, for we have such shot in our stern post and otherwise, as will make it dangerous to keep at sea in gales of wind. Well, I suppose you have read enough about our fight, what a terrible sensation it had made in Europe, and as for poor me, I have been inundated with letters, etc. I took the only opportunity I had, and went to Paris to see about my eye. There I became a lion—dinners, speeches, writing, painting, permission to dedicate to me—Had to have a reception from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. one day, general handshaking, etc.; parties and nonsense afterwards. I wished I was in the *Kearsarge*, where I got as soon as I could. I can't write a word, but someone gets hold of it, garbles and publishes it.

" Well, of my eye.—Oculist says 'Irrevocably gone!—might have saved it had I had an operation performed when first attacked—must be careful of the other.'

" Everyone very kind to me in Paris. Strange things have come to pass—I am, they say, a hero. It would have been gratifying to me when I was young; but now my hope is peace and rest. God grant it may arrive at an early day!

"You can form no idea of the immense correspondence that fight has involved me in. Everybody wants replies, and I am the sufferer.

"But the prospect is, we are coming home. The *Sacramento* arrived a few hours before we left Cherbourg—so I was detained till 12 last night, seeing Walke and arranging a co-operation.

"I told him to come up to Dover, which he will do as soon as possible.

"The *Niagara* is at Flushing. I am now approaching the English coast, and expect to be bored by people, people who are never satisfied and who think I have nothing to do but to listen to them. If the *Ticonderoga* is our relief she ought to be here; I have the *Boston Advertiser* announcing her sailing the 18th ult. . . ."

The *Georgia* was known to have been sold, and rumors of the presence of the *Florida* on the coast of Europe proved to be groundless, but a letter from the U. S. Consul at London indicated that the Confederates were concentrating their efforts upon getting the *Rappahannock* to sea.

"U. S. Consulate,
"London, *June 27, 1864.*

"Capt. J. A. Winslow,

"Dear Sir,

"Although you may be apprised of all that I am about to write I think it my duty to inform you that the destruction of the *Alabama* has caused great mortification and chagrin among all rebels and their sympathizers in Europe and they are talking of nothing but revenge, etc. and say they will soon be ready to attack you. I don't much regard their boasting but think they are, from all that has come to my knowledge, making preparations to attack you. I saw a letter to-day written by a rebel to a rebel, saying the *Rappahannock* would be out by the 2nd of July—that she would carry two 200-pounder rifles and eight 64. I suppose as many guns—that

she would be protected in the hull by wire rope, etc., and that she has now 135 men besides officers and that they were determined to attack your ship. I know the writer meant what he said. I hope they will give you a meeting. I have no fear of the result.

"I do not wish it to get out that I am seeing such letters, for it would deprive us of information. They are shipping large numbers of men for some purpose. One hundred go to Glasgow on Wednesday. One of the Bordeaux steamers left on Saturday with 65 men on board and is in some Channel port but as yet not known to me.

"The *Florida* arrived in the Channel on Saturday without coal and is supplying herself somewhere: one report is that she is in a small French port.

"The *Niagara* is in the Channel. Perhaps you have communicated with her before this time.

"Your ship is faster than any they have and your gunnery much superior, and I hope they will give your noble command another opportunity for a meeting.

"Very truly yours,
"T. H. Morse."

The blockade of the *Rappahannock* was therefore resumed.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"Dover, *July 28th, 1864.*

". . . I am watching the *Rappahannock* and waiting answer to my letter to the Department. Expect orders home, or I shall go in dock to repair extensively. I never have any peace now, so many thousand people in the ship daily, and I have so many invitations no quiet is given me. Tell —— to keep cool. It is hot weather in Boston now—am sorry he was not in the *Kearsarge* to hang all the prisoners, but it can't be helped now.

"The *Kearsarge* is now as popular on the English coast, as she would be at home. You need heed no reports about any farther attacks on her. As for the rebels, I think they would be unwilling to take any unfair advantage of us; they are

going to fight us when they can, my opinion is they will let us alone, and keep as far off as they can get. . . ."

On the 11th of August, Winslow received the following confidential order:

"(Confidential.)

"NAVY DEPARTMENT.

"WASHINGTON, *July 23, 1864.*

"SIR:

"The *Florida* has committed some depredations on our coast and departed probably for Martinique, whence she will no doubt cruise to the southward and eastward in the track of our homeward-bound vessels via the Cape of Good Hope, as has been the case heretofore. On the receipt of this order you will fill up with coal, and, keeping your departure a secret from every person, you will proceed with all practicable dispatch to the ground indicated above, touching only for coal on the way. If nothing is heard of the *Florida* in cruising to the southward and westward, go to Fernando de Noronha, the Rocas, Martinique, and St. Thomas, thence home.

"If you meet with a sailing vessel suspected of being a tender to these pirates, hoist Marryat's signal No. 5 at the fore. If replied to by the same signal, search the vessel for extra crew and for any other objects that will authorize a seizure.

"I trust you may close your cruise by the same exhibition of skill which has already been so creditable to you.

"Very respectfully, etc.,

"GIDEON WELLES,

"*Secretary of the Navy.*

"Captain JOHN A. WINSLOW,

"*Commanding U. S. S. 'Kearsarge,'*

"Cherbourg, France."

The *Kearsarge* was relieved that day by the *Iroquois*, Commander C. R. P. Rodgers, and sailed at once for Fayal, touching at Cherbourg, *en route*,

for the wounded who had been left there in the hospital.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"DOVER, *Aug. 11th, 1864.*

" . . . I have my orders now from Washington and I leave to-day on my way home, not to arrive for a month or more. I am charged confidentially with duty which will carry me a long distance before we can point our head for home.

" The *Iroquois* has come to Dover and hereafter will follow my round. Raymond Rodgers commands her, and I am glad for the credit of the Navy that so gentlemanly an officer is appointed to this duty. . . ."

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"HORTA BAY, FAYAL,
"*August 23rd, 1864.*

" SIR:

" In obedience to instructions of the Department of the 27th ult. I have the honor to report that the *Kearsarge* left Dover roads on the 11th inst., and the following day touched off Cherbourg, to receive the wounded men left in the hospital at that port. On our arrival at Cherbourg a report was current that the *Florida*, in company with the *Electric Spark*, had been seen off the Banks of Newfoundland. For verification of the report, after leaving Cherbourg I cruized to the northward to intercept the steamers from America, but missing them, kept away and arrived at this port on the 22nd inst.

" The papers from the United States up to the 6th inst. and the local news about these islands, afford no light upon the movements of the *Florida*. I shall therefore as soon as our stock of coal is renewed, proceed in obedience to the instructions of the Department, as indicated by the despatch of the 23rd ult.

" I have the honor to be
" Very respectfully
" Your obedient servant
" JOHN A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

" Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
" *Secretary of the Navy*,
" Washington, D. C."

At Fayal, Winslow was able to send letters home.

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"FAYAL, *Aug. 23d, 1864.*

" . . . You see we have arrived here, and found all our friends in a high state of excitement about the *Alabama*, etc.

" We have to go through the same scenes as elsewhere, but I must soon be off on my course. When I wrote you at Dover I supposed we might get home by the last of September, but I find it now impossible to carry out the Secretary's orders in that time and we have a long cruise before us first, so I may not reach home before the first of November or thereabouts.

" The orders received are secret. As we were coming in port yesterday, a vessel was sailing for Boston, which will report us. The *St. Louis* is here, with Preble commanding,—they cheered the *Kearsarge* as she came in. I was sorry to see that Grant was not doing well at Petersburg. It certainly is slow work.

" I have had so much writing to do, it is wearing me out, besides straining my eye. My clerk has been sick pretty much the whole cruise, and I have no one to supply his place, or I could dictate. We have nothing but the stormiest weather, and the heat is intolerable, after coming from the Channel, where I had a fire every morning.

" How I long to get somewhere, where I shall have no writing, no correspondence, no people. It is all work and no play and I am fast becoming a dull fellow. . . . "

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"FAYAL, *Aug. 29th, 1864.*

" . . . I wrote you, via Lisbon, a few days since. A vessel having come in, bound to Boston, I again wrote. We have nearly completed our supplies, and shall proceed in a few days on our cruise. I do not expect to reach home till early in November. I fear very much the cold weather, as my eye is so sensitive and I have suffered so much from

change of climate after leaving the Mississippi. I do not like the news from the United States, it looks as if the war might last during my natural life, and I am a peace man."

. . . . . .

The remainder of the cruise is told by Captain Winslow in his official report to the Secretary of the Navy, upon his arrival at Boston, November 7, 1864:

"*U. S. S.* '*Kearsarge*,'
"CHARLESTOWN (BOSTON) NAVY YARD,
"*November 7, 1864.*

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report the arrival of the *Kearsarge* at this place.

"The *Kearsarge* left Fayal on the 1st of September and proceeded to the southward and westward, preparatory to working up to the equator in the track of vessels bound to the United States.

"On the 15th of September, having attained this track in latitude 18° N., we came round and commenced our arduous task of working up against the trade winds.

"Owing to necessity, our consumption of coal during the days we were compelled to steam was reduced to the smallest limit, and our progress was accordingly slow.

"On the 4th of October we reached the island of St. Paul, where we brought up during the day taking fish, and three days afterwards came to anchor at Fernando de Noronha.

"Although it appears from subsequent information that the *Florida* had been three weeks before cruising about St. Paul, where she remained for three weeks or more, yet no information of her could be obtained at Fernando de Noronha or from any of the vessels spoken, and the mail steamers informed us she had not been seen on the coast. We learned from after-examination that she kept to windward of Fernando de Noronha, only once sighting the peak for verification of longitude before proceeding to Bahia, where she arrived the day before we reached St. Paul.

"Having heard from the French mail steamer from Pernambuco and Bahia that the *Wachusett* and *Ticonderoga* were on the coast, the former of which, the governor of Fernando de Noronha informed us, had been cruising about the island, we left Fernando de Noronha and made the Rocas the next day. We found no vessels or inhabitants at these shoals.

"Having attained the point marked out by the instructions of the Department, and the information received being that the *Wachusett* and *Ticonderoga* were watching this part of the seas, we left the Rocas and arrived at Barbados on the 23d ultimo, which port we put into with our coal all consumed. Having obtained a supply, we left Barbados for Martinique, and touched at the ports of St. Pierre and Fort Royal, and proceeded on to St. Thomas, where we arrived on the 29th ultimo.

"The following day the *Wachusett* arrived from Bahia, with the *Florida* in company, the latter having been left outside.

"I have the honor to inform the Department that the ship *James Cheston*, of Baltimore, 133 days from Rangoon, in distress, with scurvy, came into St. Thomas while we were there. Having in the *Kearsarge* nineteen men received from the U. S. Consul at Fayal (distressed American seamen), we were enabled to assist her by putting them on board of her. By the transfer of these men, room having been made, I readily assented to the request of Captain Collins, who complained of embarrassment from having too many prisoners in the *Florida*, to take them in the *Kearsarge*. We accordingly received on board one of the doctors of the *Florida*, with sixteen of her men. We also received the paymaster of the *Wachusett* as bearer of despatches.

"I have the honor to inform the Department that the *Kearsarge* was in a poor state for the cruise she has just completed. All her sails are but miserable rags, and the rigging little better. Her stern frame is badly shattered, and before we reached the line the whole transom worked two or more inches from the sternpost and side timbers, leaving the rudderpost without any support except the deadwood below. We

were only enabled to stay the working by raising the deck abaft and temporarily wedging under the carlines.

"I have the honor to be,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JNO. A. WINSLOW, *Captain.*

"Hon. GIDEON WELLES,
"*Secretary of the Navy,*
"Washington, D. C."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE OVATION AT HOME.

THE *Kearsarge* arrived in Boston Harbor after nightfall on the 7th of November, and Winslow reached his family quietly soon after midnight. The ship's arrival was on the eve of two interesting events—the Presidential election and a Sailor's National Fair in Boston, for the benefit of distressed American sailors and marines. So great was the excitement and enthusiasm over the advent of the destroyer of the *Alabama* that interest in the national election flagged and the crowds at the polls melted away to reassemble at the water-front and gaze in awe and exultation upon the battle-scared victor from across the sea.

The Sailors' Fair afforded a most auspicious opportunity for presenting the heroes of Cherbourg to their lauding countrymen. Winslow and many of his officers and men attended it and held an enormous impromptu handshaking.

A reception followed the next day at Winslow's home town of Roxbury, where he was presented

with a magnificent silver service by the citizens of that place.

On the 10th, a grand public reception to the Captain, officers, and crew of the *Kearsarge* was held in Faneuil Hall. It was preceded by a parade escorting the honored guests from the ship to the hall, and closed with a collation, at which there were toasting, speechmaking, and vociferous acclamations of welcome. Mrs. Winslow appeared in the gallery during the collation and was enthusiastically cheered.

On the 15th, a banquet was given to Winslow and his officers by the Boston Board of Trade at the Revere House, which was especially elaborate; Gilmore's full band furnished music, and covers were laid for three hundred guests. On this and all other occasions of its kind, Captain Winslow was called upon to speak, which, although naturally distasteful to him, he did with what grace he could. A reporter on one of these occasions thus describes him:

"Modest, unassuming, divested of all the insignia to designate his naval rank, Captain Winslow could have been selected by no stranger present as the fortunate antagonist of the villain Semmes. More like a divine than that of a fighting man is the *tout ensemble* of the gallant sailor. He is of medium stature, with full dark beard and hair, but with a bald circle upon the top, like the tonsure of the priesthood. Gentleness and affability gleam in every lineament of his countenance, yet we can discern, upon a closer scrutiny, that the iron will and the defiant courage that marked the man when he ordered the decks of the *Kearsarge* cleared for action are inherent qualities of his nature, born with him."

On the 28th of November, the *Kearsarge* was put out of commission. Being thus released from official duties, Winslow was obliged to spend the month of December visiting cities that would not be denied the privilege of doing him honor. On the 10th, he attended a reception under the auspices of the Port Society of New York, at the Academy of Music in that city. On the 13th, the Merchants' Exchange in Philadelphia gave him a grand ovation, followed by a banquet at the Continental Hotel. On the 15th, he was back in New York to attend a large dinner given him by the Union League Club. On the 22d, he was the guest of honor at the annual meeting and banquet of the New England Society in Boston. Later, he was entertained with public honor in Washington.

The testimonials at this time were not alone of such an unsubstantial nature as receptions and banquets. Twenty-one thousand dollars was subscribed by Boston merchants and divided among the *Kearsarge's* crew. The New York Chamber of Commerce presented Winslow with twenty-five thousand dollars as a testimonial of his services to the merchants of that city alone. The Government had advanced him to the grade of Commodore, his commission dating from the day of battle. This, however, was a promotion of only eighteen numbers.

On the 5th of December the President sent the following communication to Congress :

28th Congress, 2d Session. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Ex. Doc. No. 6.

CAPTAIN JOHN A. WINSLOW.

MESSAGE
from the
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Recommending

A vote of thanks to Captain Winslow for skill and gallantry in the destruction of the pirate craft Alabama.

December 8, 1864.—Referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

" *To the Senate and House of Representatives :*

" In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John A. Winslow, United States navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the brilliant action whilst in command of the United States steamer *Kearsarge*, which led to the total destruction of the piratical craft *Alabama*, on the 19th of June, 1864, a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in number of crew.

" This recommendation is specially made, in order to comply with the requirement of the 9th section of the aforesaid act, which is in the following words, viz.:

" ' That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade, if, upon recommendation of the President by name, he receives the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.'

" ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

" WASHINGTON CITY, *December 5, 1864.*"

On the 14th and 15th a resolution passed the Senate and House, respectively, without debate,

tendering the thanks of Congress to Captain Winslow.

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the thanks of congress are due, and are hereby tendered, to Captain John A. Winslow, of the United States navy, and to the officers, petty officers, seamen, and marines of the United States steamer *Kearsarge*, for the skill and gallantry exhibited by him and the officers and men under his command, in the brilliant action on the nineteenth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, between that ship and the piratical craft *Alabama*—a vessel superior to his own in tonnage, in guns, and in the number of her crew.

"APPROVED, December 20, 1864."

CHAPTER XXIV.

DUTIES AS COMMODORE.

AFTER three months' rest, if the almost incessant ovations of that period can be called rest for one of Winslow's disposition, he was made president of a board to supervise the building of ironclads and other vessels at Boston. As it was evident that there could be little more for the navy to accomplish afloat, this duty was quite acceptable to him, being near his home and of a nature for which he was well fitted by his experience on the Mississippi under Flag Officer Foote.

The war ended at Appomattox in April, 1865, and in October Winslow was ordered as a member of a general court-martial, of which Admiral Farragut was president, convened at Washington, November 1st, for the trial of various officers, among them being Commodore T. T. Craven of the *Niagara*, one of the vessels which had succeeded the *Kearsarge* in the English channel. Craven's offence was his failure to pursue and fight the Confederate steamer *Stonewall*, one of the rams which Winslow had had under surveillance at Bordeaux during his operations on the coast of France.

The watchfulness of the *Kearsarge* and the pressure brought to bear upon the French Government forced the Confederate agents to relinquish these vessels. The *Stonewall*, as she was subsequently named, was sold by her builders to Denmark and delivered at Copenhagen, but was afterwards purchased by the Confederates. At Ferrol she was watched by the *Niagara* and *Sacramento*, and sought an engagement with them, but they avoided it. The notoriously inconsistent sentence of the court in Craven's case called forth the comment of Secretary Welles, in his review of the proceedings, that "The incongruous whole has the aspect of an unsuccessful attempt at compromise between those members of the court who believed the accused guilty and those who believed him not guilty," but nothing can be found in Winslow's correspondence indicating his individual views upon the subject.

During the autumn of 1865, diplomatic relations between the United States and France were becoming more and more strained over the occupation of Mexico by French troops and the imposition of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria upon the Mexican people as their Emperor. When the Southern rebellion collapsed, Napoleon realized that he would have to withdraw his troops from Mexico or prepare for war with the United States. Very adroitly, he proposed to Mr. Seward that the French troops would be promptly withdrawn if the United States would recognize and protect Maximilian as Emperor. Mr. Seward's reply, although clothed diplomatically, was a point-blank refusal of

the proposition. It was prepared for transmittal on the 5th of December. Realizing that it produced a crisis in the situation and might make war with France inevitable, our Government made dispositions accordingly. Troops were already mobilized on the Mexican frontier. The U. S. Gulf Squadron was divided, and a Western Gulf Squadron formed to observe the Mexican coast. A commander was needed for this, who, besides being a fighter, would be familiar with the wiles of European diplomacy, and Seward himself selected Winslow. On December 5th, the latter was ordered to proceed by steamer from New York to New Orleans, to assume his new command. On the following day Seward's despatch, refusing to entertain the French proposal, was started on its momentous errand.

While Winslow was journeying from New York to New Orleans by steamer, a contingency arose which demanded his presence in Washington. Certain influences upon the Government brought about the arrest of Raphael Semmes and his imprisonment at the Capital, to stand trial for violation of the rules of war in failing to give himself up after surrendering the *Alabama*. Commodore Winslow was, of course, needed as a witness for the prosecution ; so, upon reporting to Acting Rear Admiral Thatcher, at New Orleans, January 2, 1866, he found telegraphic orders awaiting him directing an immediate return North.

Semmes, however, was not brought to trial, the attorney-general deciding that he came under the exemption terms guaranteed by Grant to Lee when

the latter surrendered. The case was abandoned in March and Semmes was released. Without having seen his former adversary, Winslow was again ordered to command the Gulf Squadron, assuming command May 4th at Pensacola.

Napoleon was already arranging for the withdrawal of his army from Mexico. Maximilian, after vain appeals and protests, elected to remain. As soon as the French grip relaxed, the Mexican republicans commenced to win victories. The embarkation of the whole French military and civil establishment was completed at Vera Cruz on the 5th of February, 1867, and the French fleet sailed for France on the 13th of March. Maximilian, with his meagre band of adherents, was quickly besieged by Juarez's forces in Queretaro, and taken prisoner on the 15th of May.

The need for a separate United States Gulf Squadron thus ceased to exist. Winslow was directed to haul down his flag on the 21st of May, and turn over his squadron to Rear-Admiral James S. Palmer, commanding the naval forces on the North Atlantic. Nothing had occurred demanding an exhibition of the qualities for which the victor of Cherbourg had been selected. The chief incident within the limits of his command had not occurred on the Mexican coast, but in New Orleans, and was an outcome of the throes of reconstruction.

A convention of unionists, known as the Convention of 1864, met in New Orleans, July 30, 1866, at the call of the Governor of Louisiana, to

propose and formulate some changes in state government. The place of meeting was assailed by a mob of irreconcilables, including the city police, about forty of those in the hall being killed and nearly one hundred and fifty wounded before the arrival of troops restored order. The action of both Sheridan and Winslow in the emergency was most efficacously drastic, but it did not meet with approval in Washington, and both officers were reprimanded.

"PENSACOLA, *Sept. 16th, 1866.*

" . . . From what is in the wind at Washington, I shall not be surprised if I am relieved from this station. I have fallen into disfavor, for during the riot in New Orleans I directed the ironclads to be got ready for immediate service. I wrote orders to the commander of one of our vessels there. My deep regret is he did not land with every man under his command and put an end to the massacre.

" In my letter to the Department I characterized the mob as one of the most cruel, cowardly, and dastardly that ever disgraced our flag, and got up for the suppression of free speech. Welles wrote me long and severe letters disapproving my course, and so matters stand. . . ."

"PENSACOLA, *Oct. 15th, 1866.*

" My former good relations with Welles are restored. . . ."

In November, 1866, Commodore Winslow was joined on the station by his wife, and she remained with him until he was relieved from command in the following May, and returned with him to Boston.

On the 5th of the following July, Commodore Winslow obtained leave of absence for four months to take his family to Europe. The trip was to

have been taken chiefly to benefit the health of his daughter Fanny, but she was too ill to endure it, and soon afterward died ; so it was abandoned. On January 31, 1868, he was appointed chairman of a board to appraise the ironclads with which he had been so frequently associated, and many of which were, by Act of Congress, to be sold. With the board, he visited Washington, New Orleans, Cairo, Mound City, and League Island. He was assigned no further public duty until June 2, 1869, when he was ordered to command the Portsmouth Navy Yard, where he remained until promoted.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST CRUISE.

ON the second of March, 1870, Commodore Winslow was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and on the first of the following July he was assigned to command the Pacific Station. Starting for San Francisco in August, he hoisted his flag on the U. S. S. *Saranac* and found himself once more amid the scenes of his long cruise in the *St. Lawrence.* By permission from the Navy Department, he was later joined on board by his wife and daughter, and they accompanied him almost continuously during the cruise. In May, 1871, a trip was made to Puget Sound and thence to Alaska through the inside passages, returning the same way and stopping at Sitka, Victoria, and Portland, Oregon. San Francisco was reached again August 17th. There they found the U. S. S. *California*, which had been sent out to be flagship. Admiral Winslow therefore transferred his flag to her, and in November, 1871, sailed for the Sandwich Islands. An unusually severe storm was encountered, which blew the ship many miles out of her course, but she arrived safely at Honolulu

on the 22d of December. The Admiral and his officers and family were received with much pomp, ceremony, and adulation, beginning with a reception at the palace, which is thus described in the *Hawaiian Gazette* of January 3, 1872:

"AUDIENCE AT IOLANI PALACE.

"The Minister and Admiral, accompanied by Mrs. Winslow and daughter, arrived at the Palace, in His Majesty's carriage, at precisely 12 o'clock, the band playing *Hail Columbia* as they passed the Guard.

"The Admiral was also accompanied by Captain J. M. B. Clitz, commanding the U. S. Ship *California;* Commander R. W. Meade, commanding U. S. Ship *Narragansett;* Fleet Surgeon, John M. Browne; Captain P. C. Pope, U. S. M.; Fleet Engineer, Montgomery Fletcher; Fleet Paymaster, Casper Schenck; Lieutenant Commander Henry Glass.

"Her Majesty Queen Emma assisted at the audience, and was accompanied by Mrs. Elisha H. Allen, Mrs. J. Mott Smith, Mrs. Governor Dominis, Mrs. C. R. Bishop, Mrs. William F. Allen, and Miss Nannie Harris.

"His Majesty was attended by the Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Finance, Judges Hartwell and Widemann, the Governor of Oahu, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Colonels Allen and Pratt, Majors Hoffmann, Harris and Kahanu, and His Majesty's Chamberlain, who received the visitors at the door as they arrived.

"Admiral Winslow, on being presented, addressed His Majesty as follows:

"'May it please Your Majesty:

"'After an interval of over eighteen years, I again have the pleasure of visiting the beautiful islands which comprise Your Majesty's Kingdom.

"'I am gratified to find presented on every hand evidences of their progress, prosperity, and happiness.

"'The Government and people of the United States feel a lively interest in the welfare of the Hawaiian Islands, not only from the commercial value and the reciprocal advantages which commerce opens to both countries, but as these islands have been the field of labor of American missionaries from an early date, which has so signally illustrated the power and value of Christian influence in elevating a new people.

"'May the cordial relations that have hitherto existed between our respective countries be permanent.

"'I desire to take advantage of this occasion to express my thanks for the timely and efficient aid rendered by Your Majesty's Government to the crew of the United States Steamer *Saginaw*, one of the vessels which were under my command in the Pacific.

"'May Your Majesty enjoy a long and prosperous reign.'

"To which His Majesty was pleased to reply:

"'Admiral:

"'Eighteen years is a long period, and brings changes to all: it has brought to you fame and the highest honors of your profession. I am glad if it appears to you to have brought some prosperity and happiness to My people.

"'With regard to the *Saginaw*, her Captain took occasion upon his arrival here to return his thanks for the assistance rendered, and since then your Minister Resident has transmitted to me the thanks of your Government. But I take this occasion to repeat what I have said before, that in giving assistance to shipwrecked seamen in this ocean, we can at best only follow at respectful distance the alacrity and devotion of the service of which you are so distinguished a member. I am well aware of the good feeling of the Government and people of the United States towards this country—a feeling which I fully reciprocate, and I have no doubt that your stay here will afford the opportunity to My people to give further evidence of the cordiality with which those in the service of your country are always welcome here. In the meantime, I am very glad to see you, Admiral, your wife and daughter, and the officers who accompany you.'

"After some time spent in social conversation and inspection of the feather cloaks, which of course were a matter of great curiosity to the strangers, His Majesty invited his guests to sit down to a collation in the dining-room, where all enjoyed themselves exceedingly.

"The visitors took their departure at 3 o'clock; His Majesty having accepted the Admiral's invitation to visit him on board the Flag Ship to-day at 11 o'clock."

Feeling unfit, both in health and inclination, to endure the ordeal of entertainment that threatened him, Winslow sailed for South America on the 4th of January, 1872. Shortly afterward, while off the island of Rimitara, one of the Austral group, he was one day stricken slightly with paralysis just after his bath. From this attack, however, he gradually rallied. The ship continued her cruise, touching at Juan Fernandez, Valparaiso, and other South American points, until Panama was reached, where she was detained by orders from the Department. The seeds of illness sown in a similar climate during exposure in the Mexican War, were here encouraged to full fruition, and the Admiral grew rapidly worse. Incessant and excruciating pain developed in his diseased eye, with constant neuralgia in the right side of the face and partial paralysis throughout the right side of his body. He was finally induced to submit himself to a medical survey, and, upon the recommendation of the board, he resigned his command and proceeded, with his family, to San Francisco by mail steamer. Orders reached him there in August expressing the Department's deep regret at his illness, and,

agreeably to his request, detaching him from the command of the Pacific Station.

Admiral Winslow then spent nearly a year in California, and its recuperative climate seemed greatly to improve his health. In April, 1873, he journeyed East and stopped in Washington to report at the Navy Department. On May 9th, he purchased tickets for New York, and, with his wife and daughter, was in the reception-room of the Ebbitt House despatching his baggage when he was stricken with what appeared to be apoplexy, remaining unconscious until late in the evening. As soon as he was able to travel, he was taken to his home in Boston, where, after patiently enduring several months of great suffering, he died, September 29, 1873, within a few days of completing his sixty-second year.

Mrs. Winslow, as he had wished, declined the tender of a military funeral. A simple service was held at St. James's Episcopal Church, in the presence of the family and a number of friends and comrades in arms, and the remains, covered by the battle-flag of the *Kearsarge*, were then taken to their last resting-place in Forest Hill Cemetery. There a granite boulder from Kearsarge Mountain, appropriately inscribed, now marks the grave.

Thus closed the earthly career of the man who fought and won the most memorable naval duel yet chronicled in the world's history. I cannot better close this record of his life than by quoting the words of his most illustrious contemporary, Admiral Farragut:

"I had sooner have fought that fight than any ever fought upon the ocean!"

and those of his great antagonist, Raphael Semmes:

"He was the Christian gentleman."

INDEX.

A

Adams, Charles Francis, 126, 131, 132, 136, 137
Adams, Charles Francis, correspondence with Winslow concerning entry of *Kearsarge* into British ports, 162–165, 169
Alabama, C. S. S., 98–100, 118, 170
action with *Hatteras*, 102, 174
" " *Kearsarge*, 196, 218
ammunition expended, 211
at Cherbourg, 174–187
burning vessels on the equator, 106
captures *Rockingham* and uses her as a target, 176
casualties in action with *Kearsarge*, 207
comparison with *Kearsarge*, 191
condition of, toward end of cruise, 175
destruction of, 188–218
distribution of fighting force in action, 201
meets *Florida* off Pernambuco, 110
officers of, 192
preparations for battle, 185–187
vessels captured by, 174
Amy, Thomas, 2
Ancrum, Dr. and Mrs., of Valparaiso, 62
Ancrum, John, 2
Annette, chartered tender to *Kearsarge*, 158, 161
Arkansas, ram, 86
Armstrong, Lieut., C. S. N., describes rescue of self and others by French pilot-boat, 239, 240
Azores, 14, 99–116

B

Benton, U. S. S., 70, 73, 74
Berry, Sarah E., 3
Bullock, Captain, C. S. N., 110

C

Camel steam-tug, invention of Winslow's, 3, 55, 59
Chilton, Mary, 1
Chincha Islands difficulties, 63, 64, 66
Clanricarde letter, the, 134–136, 172
" Marquis of, 134–137
Connor, Commodore, U. S. N., 25, 26, 33, 35–39
Couronne, French ironclad, 188–190

Craven, Commodore T. T., U. S. N., court-martial of, 264, 265
Cumberland, *U. S. S.*, 24–38
Cunard steamer, Winslow fights fire on, 8
Cushing, Hon. Caleb, 13–19

D

Davis, Charles H., 79, 81, 85, 88, 91, 94, 95
Dayton, U. S. Minister, 119, 138, 139
Deerhound, British Yacht:
arrival at Cherbourg, 188
conduct of, 219–230
rescues Alabama's crew, 206, 207
Donelson, Fort, capture of, 78
Donoughmore, Earl of, 133

E

Eads, James B., 70
" " " describes grounding of the *Benton* and wounding of Winslow, 74, 75
Edge, Mr. F. M., describes visit to *Alabama's* wounded in hospital, 241, 242
Edson, Captain, 41, 42
Enterprise, *U. S. Schooner*, 7

F

Farragut, Admiral, 79, 85, 275
Florida, *C. S. S.*, 103–106, 110, 114–123, 138–152, 157, 170
Foote, Rear Admiral, 55, 70, 71, 78, 82, 85, 87, 90, 95
Fort Donelson, capture of, 78
" Henry, " " 78
" Pillow, 78, 80, 82
Frémont, Major-General, 70–73
Fry, Colonel, 83, 84

G

Georgia, *C. S. S.*, 103–107, 111, 118, 123, 138, 143–152, 155–157, 162, 170, 171
Gold fever in California, 61, 63
Gowin, William, heroic conduct when wounded on *Kearsarge*, 202, 203
Grant, General, 73, 77, 78

H

Halleck, General, 78
Henry, Fort, capture of, 78
Hollins' fight, 84
Honolulu, described by Winslow, 60, 61
Horse latitudes, 32

I

Iroquois, *U. S. S.*, relieves *Kearsarge*, 253
Island No. 10, capture of, 78

J

Jones, Evan P., Captain of *Deerhound*, describes her movements, 229, 230
Juno, blockade runner, capture of, 112, 113, 122

K

Kearsarge, *U. S. S.*, action with *Alabama*, 196–218
ammunition expended, 211
arrival in Boston, 259
blockades *Alabama*, 181–188
blockades *Rappahannock*, 153–173
captures *Juno*, 112, 113
collision with pierhead at Ostend, 167–169, 172
compared with *Alabama*, 191
description of, 98
distribution of fighting force in action, 199, 200

Kearsarge—(*Continued*)
early cruising, 98, 99
injuries in action, 210
officers of, 192
relieved by *Iroquois*, 253
repairing at Cadiz, 101, 102
sojourn at Queenstown, 125–137
target practice, 177
Winslow ordered to command, 97
Kell, Lt.-Com'd'r J. M., C. S. N., 187

L

Lancaster, John, owner of the *Deerhound*:
letter to Earl Russell, 220, 221
letter to *London Daily News*, 224–228
thanked by Confederate Commissioner Mason, 223, 224
Le Feboure, expedition of, against Charleston, 2

M

Macbeth, J., wounded in action, 202
Malabar, *H. M. S.*, receives refugees from *Missouri*, 19
Marin, Commander, U. S. N., 106, 108
Matamoras, action at, 27
Mayflower, the, 1
Memphis, surrender of, 82
Mexico, war with, 22–47
Missouri, *U. S. S.*, 8–14
" " burning of, 15
Morris, Lieut. Charles, killing of, 42, 43
Morris, Lt.-Com'd'r, C. S. N., 151

N

New Orleans, Riot of 1866, 268
Newton, Capt. John Thomas, 15–23

O

Officers of the *Alabama*, 192
" " *Kearsarge*, 192
Orion, blockade runner, 109

P

Palo Alto, battle of, 29
Paredes, President of Mexico, 24, 27
Perry, Commodore, 26, 39, 52
Pickering, Capt. C. W., U. S. N., 98, 99, 102, 105
Pillow, Fort, 78, 80, 82
Pittsburg Landing, battle of, 78
Pope, General, 78
Porter, David D., 91, 94, 95
Preble, Com'd'r G. H., 106
Price, Hon. Rodman M., describes cruise and burning of the *Missouri*, 15–20

Q

Queenstown incident, the, 124–137

R

Rajah, American ship, takes refugees from the *Missouri*, 20
Rappahannock, *C. S. S.*, 118, 140, 141, 143, 144, 146, 150, 152–172, 252
Resaca de la Palma, battle of, 29
Rhett, Col. William, 2
" Lieut. Walter, 2
Rio de Janeiro, described by Winslow, 57
Rockingham, captured by *Alabama* and used as a target, 176
Rodgers, Com'd'r John, 70, 73
Russell, Earl, 133, 134, 142

S

Sacrificios Island, 12, 27, 54
San Jacinto, battle of, 9
Santa Anna, 9, 10, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39

Saratoga, *U. S. S.*, 48–56
Sartorius, Admiral Sir George, 16–19
Scott, General, 40, 48
Semmes, Raphael:
address to crew before battle, 190, 191
commanding *Sumter*, 98
commands brig *Somers* and is shipwrecked, 45
describes blockade of Mexican ports, 34, 35
imprisoned at Washington, 266
reasons for fighting *Kearsarge*, 181–185
remarks on condition of *Alabama* toward end of her cruise, 175
room-mate of Winslow on *Raritan*, 45, 46
shipmate of Winslow on *Cumberland*, 33
Shiloh, battle of, 78
Sinclair, Com'd'r Geo. T., 186
Sirius, blockade runner, 109
Slidell, Hon. John, 25, 27
Steed Bonnet, or "Blackbeard," buccaneer, depredations in Carolina in 1718, 2
St. Lawrence, *U. S. S.*, 57–67
St. Louis, *U. S. S.*, 98, 106, 108, 198
Sumter, *C. S. S.*, 98, 103

T

Tampico, taking of, 43
Taylor, Gen. Zachary, 25, 27, 32, 33, 37, 43
Texan War, 9
Thornton, Lt.-Com'd'r, 100
letter describing *Kearsarge* at Cherbourg after battle, 242, 245
Tobasco, taking of, 40–43
Tuscarora, *U. S. S.*, 98, 101

U

Unfurling of flag at *Kearsarge's* masthead by shot in battle, 204, 205, 218

V

Valparaiso described by Winslow, 58
Vanderbilt, *U. S. S.*, 97, 99, 100
Virginius, filibustering vessel, 84

W

War with Mexico, 24–47
Webster, Daniel, 5
Western Flotilla, 69–96
Wheelwright, 59
Wilson, Lt. Jos. D., U. S. N., paroled because of honorable conduct, 236
Winslow, Benjamin, 6
Catherine Amelia, 6
Com'd'r Francis, U. S. N., 88
Eben Eveleth, 7
Edward, 1–3
Herbert, 7
John, 1–3
John Ancrum:
appointed midshipman, 5
assignment to *Kearsage*, 97–103
baptism, 3
bears despatches announcing burning of *Missouri*, 20, 21
birth, 3
castaway at sea, 4
commands captured brig *Union*, 42
commands Pacific Station, 270, 271
commands Western Gulf Squadron, 266–268
commissioned Captain, 88

Winslow—(*Continued*)
commissioned Commander, 67
commissioned Lieutenant, 7
confidential orders to seek *Florida*, 203
correspondence with Minister Adams, 162–166, 169
describes action at Fort Pillow, 80, 81
describes affairs at Santo Domingo in 1848, 50, 51
describes attack on *Alvarado*, 37
describes capture of *Juno*, 112, 113
describes Cuban affairs in 1842, 11
describes Memphis after its surrender, 82
describes taking of Barita, 30, 31
describes taking of Tampico, 43, 44
describes unfurling of flag at *Kearsage's* masthead in battle, 218
describes White River Expedition, 82–85
detachment from Western Flotilla, 93, 96
disease in right eye, 97, 100, 107
duty on *St. Lawrence*, 57, 67
" with Western Flotilla, 69–96
early cruises, 5
" education, 4, 5
executive of *Saratoga*, 48–56
fight with British cabin boy, 3, 4
first report of action with Alabama, 208, 209
gallant conduct at Tobasco, 41, 42
illness from malaria, 36
last illness and death, 274, 275
letter to Marquis of Clanricarde, 134–136
marriage, 6
member of Craven court-martial, 264, 265
orders *St. Louis* to join *Kearsage* off Cherbourg, 178
paroles *Alabama* prisoners, 233–238
patents camel steam-tug, 13
presented with epaulettes from Queen Victoria, 8
receives thanks of Congress, 261
receptions at home, 259, 363
reception at Honolulu, 271–273
relations with Porter, 91
report of search for *Florida* 256, 258
report on men for conspicuous conduct in battle, 217, 218
room-mate of Semmes on *Raritan*, 45, 46
service on the *Missouri*, 8–21
shipwrecked and loses *Union*, 45
supplementary report on action with *Alabama*, 212–216
takes command of *Kearsarge*, 102
testimonials from officers of *Baron de Kalb*, 95, 96
wild-boar hunt in Morocco with Marquis of Lorne, 22
wounded on *Benton*, 74, 75
Winslow, Miss Mary C., iii
" Paymaster Wm. Randolph, 7, 75, 76, 87

Y

Yucatan insurrection, 32

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 4444 05277 0955

199016

Please: These cards MUST be returned with this book to clear your record.
Penalty 10 cents per card

1

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY
CENTRAL SERVICE
GRAND army PLAZA

Give your NEIGHBOR a chance to borrow this book. Return it on or before DUE DATE SHOWN ABOVE. The fee is 5¢ per calendar day for each book kept overdue.